

PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINALS IN EASTERN LABRADOR ESKIMO

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PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINALS IN
EASTERN LABRADOR ESKIMO

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ABSTRACT

The object of this study is the pronominal system of the Eskimo dialect of Eastern Labrador. The study includes not only pronouns but also those pronominal adverbs which have inflection. The emphasis is throughout on the present day usage, which has been studied with the help of two native speakers from Nain, Labrador, but a diachronic dimension is added by comparing modern usage with that of earlier times in order to find out what changes, if any, have taken place within the last hundred years or so. Bourquin's grammar of 1891 Grammatik der Eskimo-Sprache, wie sie im Bereich der Missions-Niederlassungen der Brüdergemeine an der Labradorküste gesprochen wird has been the main source of information of the earlier stage of Eastern Labrador Eskimo.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter I consists of phonological and morphological introduction. The next three chapters are devoted to the morphology and semantics of the pronouns. The pronouns are divided into three groups according to their form. Chapter II deals with those pronouns which end in a personal suffix, Chapter III with demonstratives, which have a morphology peculiar to themselves, and Chapter IV with interrogative pronouns kina and sunā and a pronominal adverb nani. These three do not fall morphologically into either of the previous categories. All three morphological categories are examined together from a syntactic viewpoint in Chapter V. In Chapter VI findings are summarized and conclusions drawn.

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PREFACE

Eastern Labrador Eskimo dialect (henceforth EL) belongs to the Eastern group of Eskimo languages. It has been thought closely related to Greenlandic, but in reality is closer to those dialects spoken on both sides of the Hudson Bay, as can be concluded on reading descriptions of these dialects, for instance those by Turquetil, Trinel, and Mallon and Kusugak. No doubt EL itself is split into dialects and can be regarded as relatively unified only when compared to some other dialect complex. Conditions were formerly more conducive to dialectal diversity when the population was scattered among greater number of settlements. Only half a dozen Eskimo communities exist in Eastern Labrador now, with a total population about 1200, compared to twice the number of communities at the turn of the century. Today, however, the Eskimos of Eastern Labrador are subjected to much stronger foreign linguistic influence from English than they were ever before from German, for even if the missionaries, who were mostly German speaking, wielded authority (in the early days of white man's presence in Labrador their business was trading as well as converting Eskimos into Christianity) they were few in numbers. Besides, their linguistic policies were comparatively enlightened, at least in principle. For instance, Eskimo was used for teaching in missionary schools. Now, however, English is the official language of instruction, and has been since 1950. Eskimos of today, particularly the younger generation are fast becoming bilingual. It is very much to be hoped that they will vigorously resist the next step in the process, that of becoming

monolingually English-speaking..

This study aims at a synchronic description of EL pronoun system. While the emphasis is on modern usage it has been thought useful to add the diachronic dimension. Every language has a past from which the present has evolved. Comparing the old and the modern reveals the possible changes that have taken place. If we can see the reasons behind the changes we are in a better position to understand and appreciate the present phenomena. This has been deemed all the more important in the individual case of the present writer, whose knowledge of Eskimo does not even begin to approach the competence of a native speaker.

Practically all linguistic treatises of EL up until the very present time have been the work of Moravian missionaries. The first two reported grammars existed only as manuscripts and were written by Königseer about 1780 and Freitag in 1839. Neither of these has been available in researching this study. The main source of information of the earlier stage of EL (henceforth EEL) has been Bourquin's grammar of 1891 Grammatik der Eskimo-Sprache wie sie im Bereich der Missions-Niederlassungen der Brüdergemeine an der Labradorküste gesprochen wird. There are a few other sources, but they are mostly abridged versions of Bourquin's original (Perrett, Peacock), and therefore do not add anything to it. Erdmann's Eskimoisches Wörterbuch of 1864 is another original source.

Modern usage has been studied with the help of two native speakers from Nain, Labrador. They represent the younger generation of speakers, being a few years under and over thirty years of age. One

informant is originally from the former northern community of Hebron, but moved down to Nain in his childhood during the resettlement period. The other comes from Nain, where her family has always lived. In the ensuing work it will be understood that statements of modern EL (henceforth MEL) should, strictly, read as statements of the idiolects of the two informants, but it is assumed that their idiolects are reasonably representative of MEL.

For the description of their morphology the pronouns are divided into three groups according to their form. This description comprises Chapters II, III and IV. The meanings of the pronouns are also discussed in these chapters where relevant, but in many cases only a simple translation is given. Chapter V concentrates on examining the function of a pronoun in a sentence. Syntactic problems have been isolated in a chapter of their own rather than presented with each morphological group in order to avoid repetition. The rather lengthy survey of noun inflection in the introductory chapter is a necessary background for understanding pronoun morphology because pronouns are a sub-group of nouns.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Phonological

MEL material will be spelled phonemically according to the system outlined below. EEL material will be cited in its original written form. Because the orthography used for it was not phonemic some elaboration on it is necessary to enable the reader to interpret the spelling.

There are 18 autonomous phonemes in MEL: 15 consonants and 3 vowels. The consonant chart is as follows:

	Labial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Uvular		Glottal
Voicing	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	
Stops	p		t				k				
Fricatives		v	s				g		q		(h)
Nasals		m		n			ŋ				
Laterals			ɬ	l							
Glides				(r)		j					

/r/ and /h/ appear in brackets because they only have a marginal position in the phonological system of MEL. /r/ occurs in German loanwords, e.g. jaarik "year", januaari "January", and as a variant of /g/. /h/ occurs in exclamatory expressions and the like, e.g. hvit (a command to dogs), qakqaamulaulluhai "let's both go to the mountain, eh" instead of the straightforward qakqaamulaulluk.

Of the other consonants /t/ and /j/ do not occur geminated.

/vv/ is realized phonetically as [ff]. /gg/ apparently does not occur as a regular sound either.

The vowel chart is:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low		a	

All three vowels occur short and long and combine in diphthongs in the six possible ways.

The orthography which has been used for EL since the time it was first committed to writing, and, indeed, which still continues to be used, almost unaltered, does not represent reliably the sounds of that dialect. Its fundamental flaw is that a sound is represented by more than one symbol and, conversely, a symbol can represent more than one sound. Bourquin was well aware of this (Bourquin 1891:1) though he did not consider it possible to carry out a spelling reform in Labrador, as his much admired fellow grammarian and linguistic mentor Samuel Kleinschmidt had done in Greenland. In the opening paragraphs of his grammar Bourquin describes the Labrador sounds mainly through quotes from Kleinschmidt, but in most cases he fortunately elaborates with a few words of his own which have a direct bearing on the Labrador dialect and enable us, to a large degree, to interpret the inconsistent spelling.

We will present Bourquin's consonant chart first, then give the various ways of spelling the sounds as indicated by Bourquin and,

finally, comment upon the sounds themselves.

Bourquin places the consonants in a chart as follows

(Bourquin 1891: 1).

	Uvulars	Velars ²	Labials	Palatals ²
Stops ²	K	k	p	t
Fricatives ²	r	g	v	s, ts, l, j
Nasals ²	(rng)	ng	m	n

For the purposes of the discussion we assume initially that the above sounds were phonemes of EEL except the sound represented by the grapheme cluster rng, which Bourquin placed in brackets and did not comment on. Presumably this sound was included because it is in Kleinschmidt's consonant inventory (Kleinschmidt 1851: 1) and possibly was a Greenlandic phoneme in his day. We will use n for the velar nasal.

The following spellings of the phonemes existed.

Phoneme	Spelling	Phoneme	Spelling
1. /K/	K	8. /s/	s
2. /k/	k, g	9. /ts/	ts, ds, tj, dj, j, s
3. /p/	p, b	10. /l/	l
4. /t/	t, d	11. /j/	j
5. /r/	r	12. /n/	ng
6. /g/	g, ch	13. /m/	m
7. /v/	v, b	14. /n/	n

The three vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ were also spelled in various ways.

- 15. /i/ i, e
- 16. /u/ u, o
- 17. /a/ a, æ, e

/h/ is not included in the chart. Bourquin says that it "occurs only in some particles, particularly in exclamations, otherwise not". (Bourquin 1891: 3). Translation L.C.).

Geminated and mixed consonant clusters present further complications.

- /rr/ → ch : machuk / marruk /, machaK / marraK /
- gg : magguk / marruk /
- rg : Kemergovâ / Kimirruvaa /
- /gg/ → ch : kachimiovik / kaggimiuvik /
- ~~/nn/~~ → mg : imgerpoK / imnirpuK /
- /rC/ → rC : illitarsivoK / ilitarsivuK /
- rKC : illitarKsivoK / ilitarsivuK /
- KC : taKtoK / taartuK /

Comments.

1. The chart would show that there were four stops in EEL, but in the light of Bourquin's description of /K/ (Bourquin 1891: 1, 365) it has to be concluded that, at least in some positions, it was not a uvular stop, but a fricative even in his time, the one transcribed as /q/ in MEL. The symbol K has been retained, however, to avoid making a final judgement as to the actual phonetic quality.

2. The above fact has a bearing on the status of /r/. It could have been a voiced uvular fricative in EEL, although the description of the geminate /r/ points more to a voiceless variety (Bourquin 1891: 2). It is possible, however, that lengthening devoiced /r/.

3. It is difficult to determine whether /ts/ was an autonomous phoneme, a sibilant pronounced further back than /s/, corresponding to the Greenlandic /ss/, or simply a consonant cluster, tj, as it is in MEL.³ In any case there were several allophonic pronunciations of this sound unit (Bourquin 1891: 2-3).

4. We may conclude from Bourquin's comments (Bourquin 1891: 3) that [ɬ] existed as an allophone of /l/ in EEL. -dl was sometimes used as an allophonic spelling for post-consonantal /l/. The rise of [ɬ] to an autonomous phoneme in MEL has probably come about through falling away of the conditioning consonant so that [ɬ] has become the meaning bearer. In this context we will not go in detail into the reason which causes the consonant preceding the /ɬ/ to fall away, but it is connected with the alternation of open and closed syllables. (See I,2). Let the following word pairs illustrate how it can happen.

allaqaatluni "having first written"

alla - qaa - t - luni

write first past he doing
tense

allaqaalluni "writing first"

alla - qaa - lluni

write first he doing (non-past)

tikikqaatluni "having first arrived" (past)

tikikqaaluni "arriving first" (non-past).

5. e and o are written for /i/ and /u/ before and after uvulars, at the end of the word and sometimes for a long vowel, showing the obvious distribution of allophones. The allophonic spellings of /a/, which indicate raising, are not very common in Bourquin's grammar, but abound in Erdmann's dictionary.

In accordance with German orthographic conventions consonant doubling is very widely used to indicate that the preceding vowel is short, e.g. assia [asia] "another than he", illa [ila] "relative, companion".

Diacritics are also used to mark vowel and consonant length.

— indicates a short vowel followed by a double consonant, e.g.

mánna [manna] "this".

— indicates a long vowel followed by a double consonant, e.g.

illūnane [iluunnani] "all of him".

— indicates a long vowel followed by a single consonant, e.g.

tamât [tamat] "each time".

v indicates a short vowel, but used only if special attention is called to the length of the vowel.

-2.- Morphological

Eskimo words can be divided into two groups, inflected and uninflected. The uninflected words are particles, the inflected ones nouns and verbs. These share some inflectional endings, e.g. number and dependence marker, while others are specific to each category of words. Only nouns have local case endings. Only verbs have transitive/intransitive endings or mood signs.

The category of nouns may be subdivided further on notional grounds, and by using minor morphological differences as a criterion. Pronouns are one such subdivision. Therefore, in order to appreciate pronoun morphology we have to see it against the background of noun morphology in general.

Theoretically a noun can have 3 numbers, 8 cases and be inflected as an unpossessed noun or with a possessive suffix attached. Remembering that the 3. person has two kinds of suffixes in Eskimo, ordinary and reflexive, each with 3 numbers we get the following formula for calculating the theoretically possible inflectional forms of an Eskimo noun:

$$3 \times 8 + (3 \times 4) \times 8.$$

The answer is 120, but in practice there are not quite so many different forms because some forms have merged and some are notionally so absurd that an informant is reluctant to say them even for the sake of completing a neat paradigm, let alone use them in a real life situation. From a researcher's point of view it cannot be said, however, that practice is simpler than theory because there is a great deal of uncertainty about the dual forms. Some say they are no longer used in MEL, yet they occur here and there. In no case have the informants been able to supply all the dual forms of any one noun, and in several cases they have expressed uncertainty of the forms they have given. It seems that the dual still occurs more consistently in verbal endings, where the informants always made the distinction between dual and plural, e.g. takuvuguk/takuvugut inunnik "the two of us/we (all) saw people". Dual forms will be left out of consideration

except in a few special cases among the pronouns. The dual morphology of these individual cases will be discussed in that context.

We take the word nunak (EEL nuna) "land" to illustrate MEL noun inflection and its differences from EEL. Complete paradigms will be presented only for an unpossessed noun and a noun attached with the 1.sg. possessive suffixes. The other paradigms will be represented by the absolute, relative and modalis cases,⁴ which give enough information to predict the rest of the forms. The endings (in their allomorphic form) will be hyphenated.

(a) Unpossessed noun

	Sg.		Pl.	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nunak ⁵	nuna	nuna-it/t	nuna-t
Rel.	nuna-up	nuna-b	nuna-it	nuna-t
Mod.	nuna-mmik	nuna-mik	nuna-nnik	nuna-nik
Loc.	nuna-nmi	nuna-me	nuna-nni	nuna-ne
Abl.	nuna-mmik	nuna-mik	nuna-nnit	nuna-nit
Term.	nuna-mmik	nuna-mik	nuna-nnut	nuna-nut
Vial.	nuna-kkut	nuna-kkut	nuna-kkut/ -ttigut	nuna-tigut
Aeq.	nuna-ttut	nuna-tut	nuna-ttut/ -ttitut	nuna-titut

(b) 1. Sg. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-ga	nuna-ga	nuna-kka	nuna-kka
Rel.	nuna-mma	nuna-ma	nuna-mma	nuna-ma
Mod.	nuna-ganik	nuna-mnik	nuna-kkanik	nuna-mnik
Loc.	nuna-gani	nuna-mne	nuna-kkani	nuna-mne
Abl.	nuna-ganit	nuna-mnit	nuna-kkanit	nuna-mnit
Term.	nuna-ganut	nuna-mnut	nuna-kkanut	nuna-mnut
Vial.	nuna-gakut/ -kkut	nuna-pkut	nuna-kkakut	nuna-ptut
Aeq.	nuna-gatut	nuna-ptut	nuna-kkatut	nuna-ptut/ -ptitut

(c) 1. pl. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-vut	nuna-vut	nuna-vut	nuna-vut
Rel.	nuna-tta	nuna-pta	nuna-tta	nuna-pta
Mod.	nuna-ttinik	nuna-ptingnik	nuna-ttinik	nuna-ptingnik

(d) 2. sg. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-it	nuna-t/it	nuna-tit	nuna-tit
Rel.	nuna-ppit	nuna-vit	nuna-ppit	nuna-vit
Mod.	nuna-nnik	nuna-ngnik	nuna-nnik	nuna-ngnik

(e) 2. pl. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-si	nuna-se	nuna-si	nuna-se
Rel.	nuna-tsi	nuna-pse	nuna-tsi	nuna-pse
Mod.	nuna-tsinik	nuna-psingnik	nuna-tsinik	nuna-psingnik

(f) 3. sg. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-na	nuna-nga	nuna-nit	nuna-ngit
Rel.	nuna-nata	nuna-ngata/ -ngat	nuna-nita	nuna-ngita
Mod.	nuna-nanik	nuna-nganik	nuna-ninnik	nuna-nginik

(g) 3 pl. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-na	nuna-ngat	nuna-nit	nuna-ngit
Rel.	nuna-nata	nuna-ngata	nuna-nita	nuna-ngita
Mod.	nuna-nanik	nuna-ngannik	nuna-ninnik	nuna-nginik

(h) Reflexive 3. sg. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-(?)	nuna-ne	nuna-(?)	nuna-ne
Rel.	nuna-(?)	nuna-me	nuna-(?)	nuna-me
Mod.	nuna-minik	nuna-minik	nuna-minik	nuna-minik

(i) Reflexive 3. pl. possessor

	Sg. possessum		Pl. possessum	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nuna-(?)	nuna-tik	nuna-(?)	nuna-tik
Rel.	nuna-(?)	nuna-mik	nuna-(?)	nuna-mik
Mod.	nuna-mmink	nuna-mingnik	nuna-mmink	nuna-mingnik

There are four general factors which go a long way in explaining the differences between MEL and EEL noun inflection. First, throughout the inflection we see the effects of retrogressive assimilation, which is either partial as in EEL nunapse > MEL nunatsi "of your (pl.) land/lands", or complete as in EEL nunangnik > MEL nunannik "your (sg.) land/lands (mod.)". Other examples from the preceding paradigms: EEL nunapkut > MEL nunakkut "through my land"; EEL nunapta > MEL nunatta "of our land/lands". Also the forms of the unpossessed noun paradigm where the ending begins with a consonant show assimilation, nunak+mut > nunammut "to the land".

Secondly, /q/ and /k/ have been neutralized word finally.⁶ The preceding paradigms do not contain any instances of this, but elsewhere we can see its consequences, for instance in the 1. sg. abs., where the ending is now -ga universally. Formerly it was -ga or, after uvulars -ra. E.g. EEL oKausera (< oKauseK) > MEL uqausiga "my word".

In the 2. sg. rel. EEL had two allomorphic endings: oKauserpit "of your word", nunavit "of your land/lands"; MEL uqausippit, nunappit.

A third factor is that modern speakers have generalized /k/ as an almost universal noun ending (abs. sg.). The old division of nouns ending in /q/, /k/, /t/ or /V/ has disappeared, and we have e.g.

MEL innik "son", anutik "man", ilak "relative", illuk "house", nunak "land" for EEL erneK, angut, illa, iglo, nuna. Thus, through assimilation, we get forms like nunammi "in the land", nunamma "of my land/lands" in MEL for EEL nuname and nunama. It is reported that there are still speakers who do not end all their nouns in /k/ and who would use forms like ilama "my relative's/relatives", anutima "my husband's" and so on.

The fourth factor is one with the most far reaching consequences. It has to do with the alternation of open and closed syllables in a word form. The rule states that two closed syllables cannot follow each other in immediate succession excepting the final syllable. The count begins at the junction of the stem and the first suffix, be it grammatical or lexical.⁷ Thus if the stem is bisyllabic and has a consonant cluster or a geminate consonant in the middle the possible cluster resulting from adding a suffix will be simplified. This rule was first discovered by Father Lucien Schneider for Ungava dialects and it has been called "la Loi Schneider d'allitération" (Collis 1970: 276-7). It will be referred to as Schneider's Rule in this study. If one relies on Bourquin's orthography one has to conclude that Schneider's Rule did not operate in EL in the 19th century, but now its effects are everywhere to be observed.

In the preceding paradigms we have only three instances which exhibit the effects of Schneider's Rule directly. In the 1. pl. possessor mod. EEL has nunaptingnik "our land/lands". It becomes nunattinnik through assimilation, and MEL nunattinik through Schneider's Rule. A parallel process is to be seen in the 2. pl. possessor mod.: EEL

nunapsingnik > MEL nunatsinik "your land/lands". The third instance is the mod. (pl. possessor) of the reflexive 3. person: EEL nunamingnik > MEL nunamminik (< nunamminnik < nunak-mik-nik) "their (own) land/lands". To illustrate further we take another example word illuk "house". The mod. sg. of an unpossessed noun is nunammik "land", but illumik "house"; vial. sg. nunakkut "through the land", but illukut "through the house"; 1. sg. possessor rel. nunamma "of my land/lands", but illumma "of my house/houses"; 1. pl. possessor mod. nunattinik "our land/lands", but illutinnik "our house/houses". In the 2. pl. possessor we get the following kind of alternation: rel. nunatsi "of your land/lands", illusi "of your house/houses" (identical to the abs. form "your house/houses"); mod. nunatsinik "your land/lands", but illusinik "your house/houses".

The changes in the paradigms discussed so far are due to changes in the phonological structure of the language. There are other changes in the noun inflection where the marking system of certain grammatical categories has been changed. These changes are not phonological in nature though they might have been triggered off by phonological changes. We comment on them paradigm by paradigm.

(a) The rel. sg. marker in MEL is -up, in EEL generally -p, although -up was used for words ending in /k/. In MEL -it is preferred to -t as an abs. and rel. pl. marker. In EEL both were used equally, except that -it ending always came with words ending in /k/. The usual ending for vial. in MEL is -kkut in both sg. and pl., -tut for aeq. sg. and pl., but the longer endings -tigut and -titut for pl. also occur in careful speech.

(b) Here we see the most radical changes of all. In EEL in both sg. and pl. the adverbial cases were based on the dependence marker, the -m- of the rel. case; and the number of the possessum was only marked in the abs. Now, however, the combined person and number marker forms the base for the adverbial cases, and the number of the possessum is marked. One may look for the reason in the effects of assimilation which would have rendered the adverbial cases of a noun with the 1. sg. possessive suffixes identical with those of a noun with the 2. sg. possessive suffixes. E.g. EEL nunamme "in my land" and nunangne "in your land" would both become nunanni. The older form of the vial. sg. still occurs alongside the innovative form.

(c) and (e) In these paradigms we observe only the expected phonological changes. The number of the possessum remains unmarked in all cases.

(d) With the 2. sg. possessor the number of the possessum is only marked in the abs., as was the case earlier with the 1. sg. possessor. The -p- in MEL for EEL -v- in the rel. case ending is probably due to the assimilating effect (progressive) of the stem final /k/, which is different from the -k- which marks the 2. sg. possessor in the adverbial cases in EEL and appears as -ng- in part of the paradigm, e.g. EEL nunangnik "your land (mod.)", and as -k- in the vial. and aeq., nunakkut "through your land", nunaktut "like your land".

(f), (g) The 3. person marks the number of the possessor and the possessum along different lines from the 1., 2. and reflexive 3. person. EEL distinguished between sg. possessor and pl. possessor only when the possessum is in the sg., but with the pl. possessum the number of the

possessor is not marked. -Thus nunanga "his land" (sg. -sg.); nunangat "their land" (pl. -sg.); but nunangit "his/their lands" (sg./pl. - pl.). In the rel. case the distinction is only partially maintained, for the ending -ngata was the more common one even in the sg., -ngat being an older form. MEL does not differentiate between a sg. and a pl. possessor, only between a sg. and a pl. possessum. E.g. nunana "his/their land", nunanit "his/their lands". The pl. possessum is doubly marked in all cases except the rel.: (1) by the change of the suffix vowel and (2) by the pl. sign -t, assimilated to -n- in the adverbial cases. E.g. mod. nunananik "his/their land", nunaninnik "his/their lands"; rel. nunanata "of his/their land", nunanita "of his/their lands".

(h), (i) The reflexive 3. person suffixes in the abs. and rel. cases apparently do not occur any more with ordinary nouns, but they are still used as pronoun-forming morphemes. (See Extended Personal Pronouns, II, 2). With nouns they are replaced by 3. person suffixes. E.g. MEL illuna takuvaa "he sees his house", where "he" and "his" can either refer to the same person or to two different persons. Similarly in the pl.: illuna takuvaat "they see their house". In the adverbial cases the reflexive 3. person suffixes continue to be used. The combined suffix and case endings show the dependence marker -m-. As with the 1. and 2. pl. suffixes only the number of the possessor is marked, not that of the possessum. Our example paradigm obscures this fact, but we can see it in e.g. illumunik "his (own) house/houses (mod.)", but illuminnik (< illuk-mik-nik) "their (own) house/houses (mod.)".

Like ordinary nouns pronouns are combined with derivational suffixes, though presumably not with as wide a selection of them because of semantic restrictions. This aspect has not been investigated, but numerous instances of it will appear in the examples.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹For a more detailed description of MEL phonology see Smith, L.

"Labrador Inuttut Surface Phonology", forth-coming.

²We have changed some terms, but not altered the format of the chart. Bourquin's heading for the velar row is "palatal sounds" (German "Gaumenlaute"), but we may safely attribute this discrepancy to the 19th century use of phonological terminology, for all descriptions prove that the sounds were, in fact, what the modern terms imply. What we call "palatals" he calls "linguals" (German "Zungenlaute"). The terms "stops" and "fricatives" are not used either. The former are called "hard" sounds, the latter "soft" sounds.

³Numerous entries on pages 179-181 in an old handwritten Labrador Dictionary are typical of the confusion /tj/ caused to writers. In these entries the sound has been first written with s or ss, then these crossed over and t or tj written above. E.g., isik corrected to tjik, isse to itje. This Eskimo-German dictionary is in the Rare Books Collection in the Memorial University Library, St. John's. It does not bear any date or the author's name, but it has been claimed to be from 1813.

⁴See Appendix for the names of the cases and their abbreviations.

⁵Some speakers distinguish between vowel final and consonant final bases in the inflection of unpossessed nouns. Thus a vowel final base, nuna-k (abs.) would give, e.g., nuna-mik (mod.).

⁶Smith, personal communication, and own observation.

⁷It has to be borne in mind that some suffixes delete the stem final consonant, others do not.

CHAPTER II

PRONOUNS WITH A PERSONAL SUFFIX

The factor which unites the pronouns to be discussed in this chapter is that they are composed of a stem and a personal suffix.

The stem can be a word in the language, but generally it is not used by itself. These pronouns can be notionally divided into five categories: 1. personal, 2. extended personal, 3. reflexive, 4. interrogative and 5. indefinite pronouns. It follows from their formation that their inflectional patterns are the same in principle, but only one stem group, asik, has the full range of paradigmatic forms. The others are defective in various ways.

1. Personal Pronouns

There are two personal pronouns proper in EL, as in all Eastern Eskimo dialects.¹ They are uvana/uvaguk/uvagut "I/we two/we (all)" and ivvit/illittik/illitsi "you/you two/you (all)". The corresponding EEL forms were uvanga/uvaguk/uvagut and igvit/illiptik/illipse. The stem for the 1. person pronoun is uva. The 2. person pronoun has two stem alternants iv (< ig) and ili. It is both semantically and morphologically probable that these stems are related to the demonstrative stems uv "here" and ik "there" (Kleinschmidt 1851: 42).

Paradigms

		<u>1. person</u>		<u>2. person</u>	
		MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
		sg.		sg.	
Abs.	uvana/	uvanga/(uvaK)	ivvit	igvit	
Rel.	uvak				
Mod.	uvannik	uvamnik	ilinnik/(ivvinik)	illingnik	
Loc.	uvanni	uvamne	ilinni/(ivvini)	illingne	
Abl.	uvannit	uvamnit	ilinnit/(ivvinit)	illingnit	
Term.	uvannut	uvamnut	ilinnut/(ivvinut)	illingnut	
Vial.	uvakkut	uvapkut	ilikkut/ ivvikut	illikkut	
Aeq.	uvattut	uvaptut	ilittut/ ivvitut	illiktut	
		dl.		dl.	
Abs.	uvaguk	uvaguk	ilittik	illiptik	
Rel.					
Mod.	uvattiinik	uvaptingnik	ilittiinik	illiptingnik	
Loc.	uvattiini	uvaptingne	ilittiini	illiptingne	
Abl.	uvattiinit	uvaptingnit	ilittiinit	illiptingnit	
Term.	uvattiinut	uvaptingnut	ilittiinut	illiptingnut	
Vial.	uvattiikut	uvaptigut	ilittiikut/	illiptigut	
				(ivvitiikkut)	
Aeq.	uvattiitut	uvaptitut	ilittiitut	illiptitut	
		pl.		pl.	
Abs.	uvagut	uvagut	ilitsi	illipse	
Rel.					
Mod.	uvattinik	uvaptingnik	ilitsinik	illipsingnik	

Loc.	uvattini	uvaptingne	ilitsini	illipsingne
Abl.	uvattinit	uvaptingnit	ilitsinit	illipsingnit
Term.	uvattinut	uvaptingnut	ilitsinut	illipsingnut
Vial.	uvattikut	uvaptigut	ilitsikut/ (ivvisikkut)	illipsigut
Aeq.	uvattitut	uvaptitut	ilitsitut	illipsitut

A characteristic feature of personal pronouns is that they have syncretized the abs. and rel. cases. The endings of the 1. person pronoun in this case are -na, -guk and -gut. They are of different origin, at least from a synchronic point of view, from those of ivvit, ilittik and ilitsi. The 1. person endings are like those of an intransitive verb, e.g. qaivuna "I come", qaivuguk "we two come", qaivugut "we come". The endings of ivvit, ilittik and ilitsi, however, go back to the older rel. case endings of a noun attached with the 2. sg., dl. or pl. possessive suffixes, e.g. EEL nunavit "of your land", nunaptik "of the land of you two", nunapse "of your (pl.) land". The modern forms show the usual effects of assimilation.

The dl. forms of these pronouns have the two distinguishing marks of dl. morphology: k-ending in the abs.-rel. case and lengthening of the vowel preceding the case ending. In EEL the 1. dl. pronoun sometimes had a long vowel, sometimes short, in which latter case the adverbial cases were identical with the forms of the 1. pl. pronoun. In the 2. dl. the lengthening was not necessary to mark the dl. from the pl. in EEL. Neither is it now, but the vowel lengthening still occurs on a regular basis. It is perhaps an indication of levelling or regularization of inflective patterns, which seems to be typical of MEL.

As the paradigms show some of the pronouns have alternate forms. The 1. sg. abs.-rel. form uvak appears to be equally common with uvana in MEL. uvak looks like a back formation of uvana. The 2. sg. pronoun exhibits a complete paradigm based on the stem ik, but only the vial. ivvikut "through you" and aeq. ivvitut "like you" are said to be commonly used. Even the dl. and pl. have alternants in the vial. ivvitiikkut "through you two" and ivvisikkut "through you" for the more common forms ilittiikkut and ilitsikkut.

In the adverbial cases the inflection of the personal pronouns in all three numbers is like that of a noun attached with the 1. or 2. person possessive suffixes. In the 1. sg. it is to be noted that they are the suffixes of the older form of the language. The ordinary alternants are directly derivable from EEL forms through assimilation and Schneider's Rule. E.g. assimilation: EEL uvamne > MEL uvanni "in me", EEL illitse > MEL ilitsi "you (pl.)"; assimilation and Schneider's Rule: EEL uvaptingnut > MEL uvattinut "to us", EEL iliiptingne > MEL ilittiini "in you two". In the last example the MEL form also shows vowel lengthening of the dl.

Examples

kina aullagumajuun² uvana/uvak "Who wants to go? I (do)";
kikkut aullagumajuun? uvagut "Who want to go? We (do)"; kiap
takukqauvauun? uvana/uvak "Who saw it? I (did)"; kiap illuna unaa?
ivviin? aa, uvana "Whose house is this? Yours? Yes, it is mine";
uvannik kisiani ikajuvuk "He helps only me"; ilitsinik qakujiivuna
"I invite you (pl.)"; uvattini taimaak-taijaunnituk "It is not called
 that among us"; saviatsuk uvannifuk "The pocket knife is in my

possession" (lit. "on me"); tiguva ilinnit "He took it from you";
ilittiinit umiak saattaujuk "The boat is floating away from you two";
qaihut uvattinut ilitsinuunnit "They come to us, not to you";
allalitauvutit uvakkut "You receive a letter through me";
aullagumajuk uvattiit "He wants to go away like we two";
ilitsitut suunuujuut "They are strong like you (pl.)".

2. Extended Personal Pronouns

The pronouns of this category consist of one of the stems kisi, iluunnak or tamak and possessive suffixes. The stems, which do not occur without suffixes, signify the following notions: kisi "onliness, soleness", iluunnak "allness, wholeness", tamak "allness". The pronouns based on these stems refer to one of the three persons, but the stem gives them an additional meaning. Hence the name "extended personal pronouns".³

We will first give the MEL and EEL paradigms, which will be represented by the abs., rel., mod., and loc. cases.

	<u>kisi</u>			
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
	1. sg.		1. pl.	
Abs. }	kisima	kissima	kisitta	kissi pta
Rel. }				
Mod.	kisinnik	kissinnik	kisittinik	kissi pting nik
Loc.	kisinni	kissinne	kisittini	kissi pting ne

2. sg.

2. pl.

Abs.	kisivit	kissivit	kisitsi	kissipse
Rel.				
Mod.	kisinnik	kissingnik	kisitsinik	kissipsingnik
Loc.	kisinni	kissingne	kisitsini	kissipsingne

3. sg.

3. pl.

Abs.	kisimi	kissime/	kisimik	kissimik/
Rel.		kissiat		kissêta
Mod.	kisinnanik	kissianik	kisinninnik	kissênik
Loc.	kisinnani/	kissiane	kisinninni	kissêne
	kisiani			

iluunnak

1. sg.

1. pl.

Abs.	iluunnama	illünarma	iluunnata	illünata
Rel.				
Mod.	iluunnanik	illünamnik	iluunnatinik	illünaptingnik
Loc.	iluunnani	illünamne	iluunnatini	illünaptingne

2. sg.

2. pl.

Abs.	iluunnarit	illünarpit	iluunnasi	illünase
Rel.				
Mod.	iluunnanik	illünarnik/ illünangnik	iluunnasinik	illünapsingnik
Loc.	iluunnani	illünarne/ illünangne	iluunnasini	illünapsingne

3. sg.

3. pl.

Abs.	iluunnani/	Abs.	illünane/	Abs.	illünatik/
	iluunnaña	Rel.	illünât	Rel.	illünaita
Rel.	iluunnañat				
Mod.	iluunnañanik	illünânik	iluunnañinnik		illünainik
Loc.	iluunnañani	illünâne	iluunnañinni		illünaine

Of the third stem, tamak, there were only two forms in the sg. in EEL: tamât, 3 sg. abs.-rel., and tamânut, 3. sg. term. The form tamaat still exists in MEL though with a derived meaning "each time". In the pl. tamak derivatives had a complete paradigm being synonymous to the pl. forms in iluunnak. However, Bourquin implies that they were not in as common a use as the latter in his day though they might have been earlier. They are not used in the pl. at all in MEL, but they do occur in the dl., as they did in EEL. Curiously enough the pronouns in iluunnak did not have a dl. paradigm then.

tamak

MEL

EEL

1. dl.

Abs.	tamannuk	Abs.	tamamniuk
Rel.	—	Rel.	—
Mod.	tamattinik		tamaptingnik
Loc.	tamattini		tamaptingne

2. dl.

Abs.	tamattik	Abs.	tamaptik
Rel.	—	Rel.	—

Mod.	tamattinik	tamaptingnik
Loc.	tamattini	tamaptingne

3. dl.

Abs.	tamaagik	Abs. }	tamarmik
Rel.	tamaagita	Rel. }	
Mod.	tamaaginnik	tamangnik	
Loc.	tamaaginni	tamangne	

Parallels for all the above dl. endings are to be found in EEL dl. noun inflection.

1. dl. MEL -nnuk (abs.), EEL -nnuk (abs.-rel.)

1. dl. possessor--sg. possessum, rel.

EEL nuna-nnuk "of the land of us two"

2. dl. MEL -ttik (abs.), EEL -ptik (abs.-rel.)

2. dl. possessor--sg. possessum, rel.

EEL nuna-ptik "of the land of you two"

3. dl. MEL -gik (abs.), -gita (rel.), EEL -mik (abs.-rel.)

The 3. dl. endings go back to different suffixes in EEL and MEL. EEL -mik is the ending of the reflexive 3. dl. possessor--sg. possessum, rel. (incidentally, identical with the reflexive 3. pl. possessor--sg. possessum, rel.), e.g. nunamik "of the land of them two". The r in tamarmik comes from the final uvular which the stem had in EEL: tamaK. The MEL -gik and -gita go back to the abs. and rel. forms respectively of the 3. sg./dl./pl. possessor--dl. possessum, e.g. EEL nunâgik "his two lands/the two lands of them two/their two lands", nunâkita "of his two lands/of the two lands of them two/of their two lands". If the k

in the rel. form in EEL indeed represented a voiceless velar stop, and was not a mistake in transcription the only explanation for the MEL -gita would seem^b to be that /k/ has become voiced intervocally and fricativized to /g/.

It can be said as a general observation about the extended personal pronouns that on the one hand, the MEL forms show several morphologically archaic features, but on the other hand the pronominal system has undergone several changes.

As far as morphology is concerned the differences between MEL and EEL forms are those caused by assimilation and Schneider's Rule.

E.g. assimilation: EEL kissimmik > MEL kisinnik "only me", EEL kissipta > MEL kisitta "only we", EEL kissipse > MEL kisitsi "only you (pl.)", EEL tamammuk > MEL tamannuk "both of us"; assimilation and Schneider's Rule: EEL kissiptingne > MEL kisittini "in only us", EEL illūnarpit > MEL iluunnarpit "all of you (sg.)", EEL illūnarne/illūnangne > MEL iluunnāni "in all of you (sg.)". The /r/ or /n/ in the EEL forms in the last two examples are a reflex of the final uvular of the EEL stem illūnaK.

The single /m/ in the 1. sg. kisima "only I" and the ending -vit in the 2. sg. kisivit "only you" show that the stem is still kisi, without the final /k/, which is a sign of noun stems in MEL. In several instances Schneider's Rule has not been carried right through, e.g. MEL iluunnatinik "us all", where the Rule would have allowed for a second /nn/ from EEL illūnappingnik in the manner of MEL illutinnik "our house/houses" (mod.) from EEL illuptingnik. There is no obvious reason for these "irregular" forms. They can perhaps be attributed to the conservative character of pronoun morphology.

EEL used contracted forms in the 3. person, in which the intervocalic /n/ of the suffix dropped; e.g. kissiat from kissingat "only him", kissêta from kissingita "only them", illünât from illünangat "all of him", illünâne from illünangane "in all of him". kissiat and illünât have the older 3. sg. rel. ending -at. The normal ending, even in EEL, was -ata. The contracted forms occur in MEL, too, mostly in the adverbial cases of iluunnana "all of him", but on the whole they are not as common as in EEL except kisiani in the sense "only", which is always in this form.

We have already mentioned that pronouns in tamak have fallen out of use in the sg. and pl. Other systemic changes concern the 3. person pronouns of each stem. Before we discuss the 3. person forms specifically we need to examine the suffixes in general. Excepting some 3. person forms the extended personal pronouns do not formally distinguish between an abs. and a rel. case. We found this to be true also of the personal pronouns. The case can only be deduced from the context, e.g. (1) kisima maaniivuna "Only I am here", (2) kisima takuvaga "Only I see it". In the first example kisima is an abs. form as a subject of an intransitive verb, in the second a rel. form as a subject of a transitive verb.

The suffixes of the abs.-rel. are generally those of a rel. case of a noun with a possessive suffix attached, but there are some instances where the abs. ending is used. These are all to be found among the 3. person forms. From the point of view of EEL it may have seemed that the 1. and 2. pl. forms illünata and illünase were also exceptions, and that, in fact, was Bourquin's interpretation, but we are inclined to see

an early instance of Schneider's Rule working in these forms. In any case -ta of illūnata cannot be termed an abs. ending, which is -vut for the 1. pl. possessor as in nunavut "our land". However, the 3. person pronouns in stems iluunnak and tamak clearly have abs. forms: MEL iluunnani (reflexive 3. sg. abs.), iluunnana (3. sg. abs.), iluunnatik (reflexive 3. pl. abs.), iluunnanit (3. pl. abs.) and tamaagik (3. dl. abs.). In EEL there were only illūnane and illūnatik with abs. endings, the rest had equivalents with a rel. case ending: for MEL iluunnana EEL had illūnāt (< illūnangat), for iluunnanit EEL had illūnaita (< illūnangita). For MEL tamaagik EEL had tamarmik, which has a rel. case ending though not of the same suffix as -gik, as we explained earlier (p. 25). It is here, in the extended personal pronouns, that the abs. and rel. case endings of the reflexive 3. person are still to be found in MEL. Abs. sg. -ni in iluunnani, abs. pl. -tik in iluunnatik, rel. sg. -mi in kisimi and rel. pl. -mik in kisimik.

In EEL the two forms for the 3. abs.-rel. had a differentiated use. The reflexive 3. person forms kissime, kissimik, illūnane, illūnatik and tamarmik were used for the actor, the 3. person forms kissiat, kissêta, illūnat and illūnaita for the non-actor or patient. The dl. tamarmik lacks the corresponding non-actor form in EEL. As the forms with the reflexive 3. person suffixes appeared mostly as "he/they" in a translation into Indo-European languages, and the others as "him/them" the former were termed nominative, the latter accusative forms by the 19th century grammarians. E.g. EEL kissimik aivigivât "they alone go to him", EEL kissêta pijomavakka "they only are my wanted things" or, more in accordance with Indo-European structure, "only them do I want".

The differentiated usage of the reflexive and non-reflexive 3. person forms was not fully maintained any more in Bourquin's time (Bourquin 1891: 77), for the reflexive 3. forms were encroaching upon the domain of the non-reflexive forms. This trend continues in MEL. From the kisi stem the non-reflexive 3. abs.-rel. is no longer used, kisimi and kisimik continue to represent both abs. and rel. cases, e.g. kisimi qaiivuk "Only he comes" (abs.), kisimi takuvaa "Only he sees it" (rel.). In both these examples kisimi is the actor. It is used for the non-actor in the following examples. una kisimi pigumajaga "I want only this", kisimik takuvaagit "He sees only them".

While the system has become impoverished as far as kisi derivatives are concerned it has become more elaborate for iluunnak and tamak derivatives. The two abs. forms of iluunnak stem, iluunnani and iluunnana in the sg., iluunnatik and iluunnanit in the pl. have quite synonymous abs. case usage, e.g. iluunnatik/iluunnanit piugijakka "I like them all". There is now a regular rel. case with the 3. person suffix for rel. case usage, iluunnanata in the sg. and iluunnanita in the pl. E.g. iluunnanita takuvaana "They all see me". The corresponding dl. forms are tamaagik and tamaagita, e.g. tamaagik piugijaakka "I like them both", tamaagita takuvaana "They both see me".

The adverbial cases of the 3. person pronouns are based on the non-reflexive 3. person suffixes. Those of the stem kisi are not commonly used any more except kisiani, which is originally a loc. form kisinani "in it only", but is now used exclusively as an adverb "only". It does occur very frequently in MEL because the combination of kisiani plus the appropriate case of the noun replaces the adverbial case forms

kisininik, kisininut, kisininnik etc. which are avoided in MEL. E.g. taatsumuna kisiani uqaalavuna "I talked to him only". To say kisininut uqaalavuna is not judged completely unacceptable by modern speakers, but they do not like to use it.

The stem illūnaK was obviously felt to be more of an independent word than the other two stems in EEL because it was possible to say illūnara KuviasukpoK more or less synonymously with illūnama Kuviasukpunga "All of me is happy". Though these particular sentences were judged idiomatically suspect by our informants the fact about the ambivalent character of the iluunnak stem remains. One can say iluunnaga "my whole being", iluunnavit "your whole being" etc., but never does iluunnak occur without a suffix.

There is a difference in the notional meaning between the sg. and the pl. pronouns of the iluunnak stem. The sg. pronouns express wholeness, i.e. qualitative allness, whereas the pl. pronouns express number, i.e. quantitative allness. This being the case it is easy to understand why the sg. pronouns, especially the 1. and 2. persons, are not often used. Instead iluunnak is treated like an ordinary noun.

E.g. noun: iluunnaga aputimut saujausimajuk "My whole being was covered in snow"; pronoun: iluunnama aputimut saujausimavuna "All of me was covered in snow". The nominal usage of iluunnak occurs in the pl. too, but then it can bring about a deeper distinction in meaning than in the sg. E.g. noun: iluunnavit aputimut saujausimajut "Our whole beings were covered in snow", i.e. "we were completely covered in snow"; pronoun: iluunnata aputimut saujausimavugut "We were all covered in snow".

In the dl. the quantitative and qualitative distinction can be made by using different stems. The tamak forms express numerical quantity, e.g. tamannuk "both of us". Should it be necessary to express the wholeness of the two objects dl. forms in iluunnak may be used: 1. dl. iluunnavuk "all of us two", 2. dl. iluunnatik "all of you two", 3. dl. iluunnaagik "all of them two".

Examples

kisimik qaujimajut "Only they know"; kisitsinik takujuk "He sees only you (pl.)"; kisivit uppigivagit "I believe only you (sg.)"; uvannut kisiani qalvut "They come to us only"; pikutikkanik kisiani kamajuk "He guards my things only"; iluunnama takuvaana "He sees all of me"; iluunnapit saujausimavutit "You (sg.) are all covered"; iluunnata maanivugut "We are all here"; iluunnana/iluunnani sakqijaajuk "All of it is in sight"; taanna iluunnana/iluunnani pigumajaga "I want it all"; taakkunina iluunnanninnik pigumavuna "I want them all"; tamannuk illuqavuguk "Both of us have a house"; tamattinik plutsavuna "I like both of you"; tamaagik iluunnaagik sauvaakka "I bury them both completely"; tamaaginnut uqaalavugut "We talked to them both".

3. Reflexive Pronouns

There are two reflexive pronouns in EL imminik (EEL ingminik) and namminik (EEL nangminek). Their morphology is so defective in MEL that having mentioned the pronouns we have almost presented their inflection. There is only one other form immigut belonging to the same stem as imminik.

imminik is composed of the stem ik + the reflexive 3. mod. ending -minik. This word was inflected in all six adverbial cases, sg. and pl., in EEL, but as stated above only mod. imminik and vial. immigut are used today. It is no more acceptable to say, as in EEL, ingmine issumaKarpok "He thinks in his own mind".

The analysis into the stem nak + the reflexive 3. mod. ending -minik for namminik is not corroborated by EEL nangmineK, but to us it still seems a likely one, though admittedly speculative. namminik may go back to an earlier stage of the language than imminik so that it has become fossilized in that one form losing the identity of its parts. The corresponding word in Western Eskimo is uninflected nakmin (Hinz 1944: 36), which perhaps incorporates the Western reflexive 3. sg. rel. ending -me: nak-me-in. With the identity of the endings of namminik gone the final /k/ could easily have been confused with the word final /K/, especially if this was still felt to be a stop in that position, giving rise to the form /namminik/. A further sign of fossilization is that namminik can be used as an ordinary noun with possessive suffixes of any person attached.

Not only namminik but also imminik has lost its reference to the reflexive 3. person. Both words can now refer to any person or number.

When namminik has possessive suffixes attached it has only nominal (adjectival) usage in MEL meaning "own", but in EEL it could also be used as a reflexive pronoun just like unpossessed nangmineK. E.g. EEL nangminipsingnik pijomavok "He wants you yourselves". In MEL namminitsinik pigumavuk can only mean "He wants the things that are your own".

While there is no number or person restriction in the use of imminik and namminik there is a difference in meaning. namminik "myself, yourself" etc. Expresses first and foremost the reflexive object. It can also emphasize the subject.

Examples

(1) namminik piutsajuk "He likes himself"; namminik piutsavugut "We like ourselves"; namminik takuvutit "You see yourself"; kamatsianinama namminik kapivuna "Because I am careless I stab myself"; (2) namminik taimaak ugalaukqutit "You yourself said so"; gainiakquvugut namminik "We will come ourselves"; taikkua namminik pulaagiattunik takuvut "They themselves saw the visitors"; namminik isumaqatiuna "having thought about it myself".

imminik means "by oneself" or "of oneself" in the sense "without any help from others, of one's own free will, of one's own accord". This meaning is related to the basic meaning of the mod. case. The difference between imminik and the use of namminik to emphasize the subject is sometimes very subtle.

Examples

imminik ikiniattuk "It will light by itself"; imminik ukkuajut "They close by themselves"; namminiga imminik pisujuk "My own little one walks by himself"; suupujuugama imminik piivaga "Because I am strong I take it off by myself"; imminik isumattaatuna "having thought about it myself (without anybody putting the thought in my head)"; imminik tuquvuk "He died through his own hand".

The ending -gut in imminigut is an allomorph of the vial. ending

-kkut which occurs with certain suffixes and in the traditional vial.

pl. ending -tigut. It is not, however, used with the reflexive 3.

suffixes in the ordinary noun inflection in MEL, e.g. nunammikut

"through his land", qatanutimmikut "through his cousins". EEL had both

immigut and immikut. immigut means "by oneself" in the sense "alone, separately".

Examples

appaniniakqutit immigut "You will run alone"; qamutiqavugut immigut "We had a sledge just for us"; tujulaakqagit immigut "I will send you something separately"; illugusiqalaukquvuguk immigutiuta "We two had a room each".

4. Interrogative Pronouns

The stem nallik is a base for the following pronouns.

MEL		EEL	
<u>Abs.</u>	<u>Rel.</u>	<u>Abs.</u>	<u>Rel.</u>
nallivut	nallita	nellivut	nellipta
	"which one of us"		
	"which of us"		
nallisi	nallisi	nellise	nellipse
	"which one of you"		
	"which of you"		
nalli(n)a	nalli(n)ata	nelliat/ (nellingat)	nellita/ (nellingita)
	"which one of them"		

nallin̄it

nallin̄ita

nellit/

nellita/

(nellingit)

(nellingita)

"which one of them"

The relationship here between the possessive suffix and the stem is not so much a possessive relation as some kind of partitive relation. The possessive suffixes express the group which the entity specified by the stem is part of. Therefore we prefer to use the terms referee rather than possessor and referent rather than possessum when discussing the pronouns in nallik, and also those in asik and ilak in the next subdivision of this chapter. The relationship presupposes a pl. referee in the case of the pronouns in nallik.

The MEL and EEL forms look rather different at first sight, but the difference is more orthographical than real. Here we have an instance where a raised allophone of /a/ has given rise to its spelling with e in EEL. This allophonic spelling is found in many other words in EEL, contiguously to palatal sounds, e.g. tæsseK (Bourquin)/tessek (Erdmann) "lake" (MEL tasik), senniane "by his side" (MEL saniani), tellimat "five" (MEL tallimat). The length of /l/ is more problematic. To follow Bourquin's own orthographic rules one would have to interpret the /l/ short, for nowhere is there a spelling with the diacritic ˆ above e, which would make /l/ definitely long. Besides all Erdmann's entries of this stem group are spelled with a single l, e.g. neliet and nellit. On the other hand we know that the use of diacritics was not completely consistent. An unconditioned sound change EEL/l/ > MEL/ll/ seems rather unlikely. Therefore it would appear reasonable to assume that even EEL had /ll/ in this stem.

Otherwise the MEL forms of these pronouns follow directly from their EEL forms, affected by the same changes as ordinary nouns with corresponding suffixes. We observe the effects of assimilation and Schneider's Rule in the rel. case forms nallita "which one/which of us" (1. pl. referee) and nallisi "which one/which of you" (2. pl. referee). The loc. of these two pronouns would be nallitinni (EEL nelliptingne) "in which one of us/in which of us" and nallisinni (EEL nellipsingne) "in which one of you/in which of you".

In nallia "which one of them" and nallinit "which of them" and their other case forms there is an additional difference between MEL and EEL: the marking of the number of the referee and referent is different. We give below the complete paradigms of nallia and nallinit with their EEL equivalents to show the differences in detail. The shorter forms with the intervocalic /n/ omitted are as common as the longer forms in MEL in the sg., but not as readily used in the pl. In EEL the shorter forms were perhaps more common altogether.

3. pl. referee

	Sg. referent		Pl. referent	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
Abs.	nalli(n)a	nelliat	nallinit	nellit
Rel.	nalli(n)ata	nelliata	nallinita	nellita
Mod.	nalli(n)anik	nelliánnik	nallininnik	nellinik
Loc.	nalli(n)ani	nelliánnne	nallininni	nellinne
Abl.	nalli(n)anit	nelliánnit	nallininnit	nellinit
Term.	nalli(n)anut	nelliánnut	nallininnut	nellinut

Vial.	nalli(n)agut	nelliati g ut	nallinikkut	nelli t igut
Aeq.	nalli(n)atut	nelliati t ut	nallinittut	nelli t itut

The /t/ at the end of the EEL nelliati marks the pl. referee. It is in evidence in all the adverbial cases, too, either assimilated to /n/ or in the vial. and aeq. pl. endings tigut and -titut. MEL does not mark the number of the referee. Therefore we have nalli(n)a. To make further conclusions we would need to have a paradigm with the 3. sg. referee, which of course is semantically incompatible in this case. By comparing the above forms with those of nunana and nunanit (Chapter I, 2) we can conclude that nallina and nallinit follow the same pattern of marking the number of the referee (possessor) and referent (possessum): only the number of the referent is marked in MEL, and it is doubly marked in most of the case forms. E.g. sg. referent: nallinanit "from which one of them", pl. referent nallinin~~n~~it "from which of them", where the suffix vowel is /i/ as opposed to /a/ in the sg. and the pl. marker /t/ assimilated to /n/ before the case ending -nit.

There are not only morphological but also semantic differences between MEL and EEL usage. Whereas nallia, nallinit and so on now are interrogative pronouns first and foremost they had a generalizing meaning in Bourquin's time "whichever one of them", "whichever of them", and by derivation "any one of them" "every one of them", "all of them". Only secondarily were they used as interrogatives. In fact, Erdmann does not give interrogative meanings for these pronouns at all. In MEL they can have generalizing meaning only when extended with a generalizing affix -tuinnak. They can also add an enclitic suffix -luunnit and then have a negative meaning in a sentence which contains a negative.

Examples

nallia qaijuun? "Which one of them is coming?"; nallianik pigumaviin? "Which one of them do you want?"; nallininnik pigumaviin? "Which of them do you want?"; nallitinnik ilagagumaviin? "Which one of us/which of us do you want to go with you?"; nallisinni qaijuqagasuavaa? "Is/are any of you coming?" (lit. "among which of you are there any intending to come?"); nallianit muutakaak tillitausimajuun? "From which one of them was the car stolen?"

With tuinnak

nallianituinnak tigusigit "Take any of them"; nallituinnavut qaisuuk "Any one of us can come". We can see from these examples that -tuinnak can go before or after the suffix.

With -luunniit/ -lluunniit

nallinilluunniit tikiinnitut "None of them came"; nallialuunniit tikiinnituk "Not one of them came".

5. Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns have the stems asik and ilak as their base. The former means "another", but it is not used without possessive suffixes. The latter can also be an ordinary noun meaning "companion, relative, member, part", but even as a noun it is normally used with possessive suffixes. The morphology of the indefinite pronouns is exactly like that of an ordinary noun with a possessive suffix attached. The pronouns in asik can have the whole range of paradigmatic forms, in other words the referee can be any number or person and the referential number can be sg. or pl. The pronouns in ilak are more

limited in number since certain suffixes are excluded for semantic reasons. We will return to this point after listing the pronouns first.

			MEL	EEL		
<u>Referee</u>	<u>Referent</u>	<u>Abs.</u>	<u>Rel.</u>	<u>Abs.</u>	<u>Rel.</u>	
1. sg.	sg.	asiga	asimma	assiga	assima	
			"another than me"			
1. pl.	pl.	asikka	asimma	assikka	assima	
			"others than me"			
2. sg.	sg./	asivut	asitta	assivut	assipta	
	pl.					
2. pl.	sg.	asiit	asippit	assit	assivit	
			"another than you"			
3. sg.	pl.	asitit	asippit	assitit	assivit	
			"others than you"			
3. pl.	sg./	asisi	asitsi	assise	assipse	
	pl.		"another/others than you"			
4. sg.	sg.	asi(n)a	asi(n)ata	assia	assiata	
			"another than he"			
4. pl.	pl.	asinīt	asinīta	assingit	assingita	
			"others than he"			
5. sg.	sg.	asi(n)a	asi(n)ata	assi(ng)at	assi(ng)ata	
			"another than they"			
5. pl.	pl.	asinīt	asinīta	assingit	assingita	
			"others than they"			

1. pl.	sg./	ilavut	ilatta	illavut	illapta
	pl.		"one/some of us"		
2. pl.	sg./	ilasi	ilatsi	illase	illapse
	pl.		"one/some of you"		
3. sg.	sg.	ilana	ilanata	illanga	illangata
			"some of it"		
3. pl.	pl.	ilanit	ilanita	illangit	illangita
			"some of them"		

Because of semantic restrictions ilak derivatives are not formed with the 1. and 2. sg. suffixes, and even ilana, with the 3. sg. suffix, can only refer to a thing, not to a person. Theoretically ilana could also mean "one of them" in MEL, but it is not used in that meaning. The numeral atautsik "one" is resorted to to express that, e.g. allanit atautsimik pigumavuna "I want one of the books". In EEL illangat was used in the sense "one of them". Only the pronouns with the 1. and 2. pl. suffixes, ilavut and ilasi have both sg. and pl. referential meaning, exactly like nouns with 1. and 2. pl. possessive suffixes: nunavut "our land/lands", nunasi "your land/lands". To overcome the ambiguity in the number of these two pronouns EEL used, optionally, the following paraphrases: illapta illangat "one of us", illapta illangit "some of us", illapse illangat "one of you", illapse illangit "some of you". Their modern equivalents would be ilatta ilana and ilatta ilanit, ilatsi ilana and ilatsi ilanit, but they are felt to be unnecessary circumlocutions. It is questionable whether they can be regarded as pronominal expressions because the basic meaning of ilak asserts itself, e.g. ilatta ilana "a companion of our companions",

ilatta ilanit "companions of our companions".

. As the rel. case forms asimma and asippit prove the stem for these and related pronouns has to be construed in MEL as asik with the final /k/. The inflection of asik with the 1. sg. suffixes generally follows the innovative pattern in the adverbial cases, e.g. loc.

asigani "in somebody else but me", term. asiganut "from somebody else but me", but forms based on the traditional inflection also occur.

According to that the two preceding forms would be asinni (EEL assimne) and asinnut (EEL assimnut). However, asinni and asinnut are now regarded primarily as forms of asiit "another than you", corresponding to EEL assingne and assingnut.

asiit "another than you", asitit "others than you" and ilasi "one/some of you" will serve as examples of indefinite pronoun inflection in MEL.

Abs.	<u>asiit</u>	<u>asitit</u>	<u>ilasi</u>
Rel.	<u>asippit</u>	<u>asippit</u>	<u>ilatsi</u>
Mod.	<u>asinnik</u>	<u>asinnik</u>	<u>ilatsinik</u>
Loc.	<u>asinni</u>	<u>asinni</u>	<u>ilatsini</u>
Abl.	<u>asinnit</u>	<u>asinnit</u>	<u>ilatsinit</u>
Term.	<u>asinnut</u>	<u>asinnut</u>	<u>ilatsinut</u>
Vial.	<u>asikkut</u>	<u>asikkut</u>	<u>ilatsikut</u>
Aeq.	<u>asittut</u>	<u>asittut</u>	<u>ilatsitut</u>

In general, indefinite pronouns exhibit the same morphological changes as other pronouns with possessive suffixes, and indeed the same as nouns with possessive suffixes. Retrogressive assimilation and

Schneider's Rule are again the factors which are behind most changes.

Changes of other type are the replacement of -t by -it as an abs.

ending in asiit "another than you" (EEL assit), -pit as the rel. ending

in asippit "somebody else's (than yours)/some other people's (than yours)"

(EEL assivit), and a change concerning the marking of number of the

referee and referent in the pronouns with the 3. person suffixes.

Here we make the same observations as about nallia and nallinit (II,4),

namely that the plurality of the referee does not show in the form, only

that of the referent. The mod. case of the six indefinite pronouns with

the 3. person suffixes will illustrate the point.

asiṇanik "another than him"

ilaṇanik "some of it"

asiṇinnik "others than him"

asiṇanik "another than them"

asiṇinnik "others than them"

ilaṇinnik "some of them"

A reflexive 3. person referee is also possible among the indefinite pronouns, but as has been said before, apart from kisimi, kisimik, iluunnani and iluunnatik, the reflexive 3. person endings occur only in the adverbial cases. We have attested the mod. forms asimminik "another than he himself", it could also mean "others than he himself/somebody else but they themselves/others than they themselves", and ilamminik "some of them themselves", theoretically also "some of it itself".

Examples

asigausimajuk "It was somebody else but me"; asiganut

ilinniatauniakqusi "You will be taught by somebody else but me";

illuk taanna asippit pina "That house belongs to somebody else but you";
tusasimavugut asitsinut "We heard it from some other people than you";
una titigutik piunnituk, asianik pitaaligit "This pen is no good, get
 another one"; inutsiat asimminik nalligusujut "Good people love their
 neighbours" (lit. "their others"); allana asinit aniqqamiijut "His other
 books are at home"; allana ilanit aniqqamiijut "His other books are at
 home"; or "Some of his books are at home". The difference between the
 last two sentences in Eskimo is that the first one implies that there
 are two sets of books, one of which is here and the other one at home
 while the second one says that the complement of the books here is at
 home.

niaguujauq ilanani pigumaviin? "Do you want some of the bread?";
ilasi gaujimavusi "Some of you know"; ilamma ilanita natsaniakqaa
 "Some of my relatives will take him along"; qupannuait ilanit
nasauligaanuvut "Some of the birds were geese"; pijaagitlutik
ilamminik tigusijsautitsijut "They allowed some of themselves to be
 caught".

ilanani, the loc. case of ilana, has acquired a special meaning
 "sometimes, now and then". E.g. ilanani kitsagattavuna "Sometimes I
 am troubled". Earlier the contracted form illane was used, but the
 full form is preferred in MEL.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹Western Eskimo has a personal pronoun also for the 3. person. In one dialect it is te/ikinkā/it (Barnum 1901: 68-69), in another itle/itlkuk/itlait (Hinz 1944: 31-32).

²In MEL questions, the utterance final syllable is lengthened and final stops are converted to corresponding nasals.

³Kleinschmidt called them "uneigentliche personwörter" as opposed to the "eigentliche" uvanga and ivdlit, but in "uneigentliche personwörter" he also included what we have termed reflexive and interrogative pronouns (Kleinschmidt 1851: 42-43).

CHAPTER III

DEMONSTRATIVES

1. General

As pronouns demonstratives are a very prolific class of words in Eskimo languages. In an article concerning Eskimo-Aleut relationship Bergsland has listed some 25 demonstrative stems which these languages share (Bergsland 1951: 173-175). Though no Eskimo dialect uses all of them it is still indicative of their great number. Western Eskimo is richer in demonstratives than Eastern Eskimo (Bergsland 1956: 153). Kleinschmidt mentions 12 stems for Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt 1851: 21).

MEL has reflexes of the following 11 EEL stems: mat "here", uv "here"; agv "there", im "there (out of sight)", av "there in the north", ak "there in the south", pak "up there", uk "down there", ik "over there", pik "up there", kam "down there". (The exact senses of these are discussed later). This is four less than Bourquin mentions. The four not recognized by our informants are ing "there (in the north)", kam "there inside", Ka "there outside" and kig "there outside". The notions of the last three are expressed in MEL by intransitive participles, e.g. iluaniittuk "the one inside" or illumiittuk "the one indoors" (lit. "the one in the house"), silamiittuk "the one outside". ing "there (in the north)" may have merged with other demonstrative stems, semantically with av and morphologically with ik. This question

will be taken up later when derivation of the demonstrative pronouns is discussed.

The demonstrative stems form the base for three sets of words.

1. Uninflected words composed of the stem plus /a/. These words have an exclamatory force, and therefore will be called demonstrative exclamations.

2. A set whose members are composed of the stem plus one of the four local case endings. They have an adverbial meaning. We shall call these demonstrative adverbs.

3. Words with complete number and case inflection. The abs. sg. consists of the stem plus -na, the abs. pl. of the stem plus -kua. These words are demonstrative pronouns.

With the exception of tagv all the demonstrative stems, and only them, can have an anaphoric prefix ta(k) added. The demonstrative exclamations mostly occur with the prefix ta(k).

The Table on page 47 gives a survey of all three sets of demonstratives in MEL and EEL. Column 1 contains the stems and their alternants as deduced from an analysis of the EEL forms. ta(k) forms are not included in the table except in column 2 because most of the demonstrative exclamations only occur in this form. The basic meaning, also given in column 1, does not, of course, apply as a translation of all three sets of words (i.e. exclamations, adverbs and pronouns). Column 3 gives demonstrative adverbs in the loc. case. Column 4 gives abs. sg., column 5 abs. pl. (also rel. pl.) of the demonstrative pronouns. The numbering of the stems has no material significance. It only serves to facilitate discussion.

TABLE 1

1.	2.		3.		4.		5.	
	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL	MEL	EEL
(1) <u>mat/ma</u> "here"	tamatja	tamadja	maani	mâne	manna	mânnâ	makua	makkoa
(2) <u>uv/u</u> "here"	{uvvalu taava	{ubva tâva	uvani	ovane	una	una	ukua	ukkoa
(3) <u>tagv</u> "there"	tagga	{tagva tagga	tavvani	tagvane	--	--	--	--
(4) <u>im</u> "there out of sight"	tâima	{ima tâima	(tâimannat)	imane	inna	imna	ikkua	ipkoa
(5) <u>av</u> "there in the north"	--	tâva	avani	avane	avanna	amna/ (avna)	avakkua	apkoa
(6) <u>ak/â</u> "there in the south"	akka(?)	{akka(?) tâga	aani	âne	anna	angna	akkua	akkoa
(7) <u>pak/pa</u> "up there"	--	takpaga	pâani	pâne	panna	pangna	pâkkua	pakkoa
(8) <u>uk/un</u> "down there"	--	taungna	unani	unane	unna	upgna	ukkua	ukkoa
(9) <u>ik</u> "over there"	taika	taika	ikani	ikane	ikinna	ikingna	ikikkua	ikikkôa
(10) <u>pik</u> "up there"	tappika	takpika	pikani	pikane	pinna	pingna	pikkua	pikkôa
(11) <u>kan</u> "down there"	--	takanna	kanani	kanane	kanna	kânnâ	kakkua	kakkôa

Notes on the Table

A. General

1. Demonstrative exclamations are apparently not formed of all stems any more in MEL.
2. There are other gaps in the Table than those in column 2. tagv does not form demonstrative pronouns (3). Of im there is only a remnant of a demonstrative adverb in the abl. form taimannat "since that time". EEL had imani "recently (4)".
3. The anaphoric prefix has the form tak before the stems pak (7) and pik (10), and perhaps it is also part of the stem tagv (3). With all other stems it is ta.
4. For several of the demonstratives two stem alternants have to be postulated in order to account for the various forms. E.g. maani and makua are based on the alternant ma, tamatja and manna or mat (1). paani is derived from pa, but panna and pakkua from pak (7).
5. Assimilation plays a role in shaping the forms of the demonstratives in both EEL and MEL. As examples we may mention mat+na > manna (1), im+na > inna (4), pik+na > pinna > pinna (10), im+kua > ipkua > ikkua (4).
6. The alternation panna - tappana "that one up there" and pinna - tappina "that one up there" are instances of the effects of Schneider's Rule. E.g. the morpheme string tak-pak-na assimilates to tap-pan-na and reduces to tappana.

B. Stem Specific

Stems (2), (3). In the Table we have followed the traditional listing of the demonstrative stems by Kleinschmidt, Bourquin and others, but stems (2) and (3) should perhaps be regarded as alternants of one basic stem. What was said above in Note 3. supports this view. The discrepancy in meaning is only apparent, caused by the prefix tak. Moreover, their defective paradigms complement each other. As was pointed out earlier the tagv stem lacks pronoun forms. Likewise there is no ta form for the demonstrative adverbs uvani "here", uvannat "from here" and so on. The pronoun forms are una "this", ukua "these", taanna "that" and taakkua "those". These must be derived from different stem alternants: una, ukua from u and taanna, taakkua from uv. The derivation of the first two forms is obvious. The steps of the latter derivations can be reconstructed as ta+uv+na > taavna > EEL tâmma > MEL taanna and ta+uv+kua > taavkua > EEL tâpkua > MEL taakkua. Assimilation of the vowels /a/ and /u/ is unique to this pronoun amongst the demonstratives, and probably triggered off by the labial /v/ in the stem. Assimilation of /a/ and /u/ is also to be observed in the exclamatory taava (EEL tâva). The EEL form ubva is another form derived from uv. Its modern equivalent occurs only in the combination uvvalu, where -lu is an enclitic suffix meaning "and". The meaning of uvvalu is "or", which has no obvious connection with the original meaning of the parts.

Stems (5), (9). The demonstrative stems are all monosyllabic resulting generally in a bisyllabic pronoun (abs. sg.). However, two

pronouns, avanna "that one in the north" and ikinna "that one over there" have an extra syllable, which has come about through reduplication. In EEL ikingna and ikikkoa were reduplicated. amna (avna) and apkoa were non-reduplicated formations of av, but their ta forms did show reduplication: tavamna (MEL taavanna) and tavapkoa (MEL taavakkua). (One of our informants used even pikinna on an occasion though he normally said pinna).

The lost stem ing was perhaps another variant of ik. The derivatives of ing in EEL were ingane, ingna and the little used pl. ikkoa. The basic meaning of both ing and ik was quite generally "there" (Bourquin 1891: 89), but secondarily they could mean "there in the north" and "there in the south" respectively. The latter meanings were claimed to be applicable only at relatively short distances while av and ak derivatives for "there in the north" and "there in the south" could be used without any restriction. MEL ikani and related words have certainly lost any reference they may have had to any specific point of compass. The same could have happened to ing derivatives, paving way to the merger of the stems ing and ik in MEL.¹

Stem (6). The ta form of aani "there in the south" is taagani, that of anna "the one in the south" is taaganna. In both of them the /k/ of the stem ak has become voiced and merged with the velar fricative between two g's. In addition taaganna shows reduplication: ta-ak-ak-na > ta-ag-an-na > taaganna.

2. Demonstrative Exclamations

As mentioned already demonstrative exclamations are uninflected particles consisting of the demonstrative stem plus the ending /a/.

There is only one form which shows irregularity in adding the /a/:

tamatja "look, these here". The /j/ probably reflects yet another, older stem alternant. tamatja has an archaic sound to it in MEL as, indeed, have some of the other forms of the same stem. It appears that only the demonstrative adverbs maani, maannat, mauna and mauna and the abs. sg. manna are in common use.

/gg/ in tagga is most likely to be an assimilation of -gv- in the stem tagv. tagga is often pronounced [taxxa] or even [taxxa].

Demonstrative exclamations have meanings such as "here (it is)", "see up there", "over there" etc. according to the basic notion of the stem. Some of them have acquired special idiomatic usages, more or less removed from the original meaning. uvvalu "or" has been mentioned already (III, 1). Others will be illustrated by the examples below.

The inclusion of the word akka in the demonstrative exclamations is somewhat doubtful. Formally it could be derived from the stem ak "there in the south", but notionally there is no connection, for akka is an expression used when giving something "here you are", "please have it". Like tamatja akka is also archaic in MEL.

Examples With Original Meaning.

tagga Taami "Here's Tom!"; tagga pigumajaga "There it is what I want!"; taika napaattuaaluit "Look over there, big trees!"; tappika kitjautiik "Up there they are, scissors!"; tamatja pigumajakka "There

they are, "all the things that I want!". tamatja in MEL, as far as it is used, presupposes plurality of the object referred to. So did tamadja in EEL, but only notional plurality, not formal, e.g. EEL tamadja pijomajara "There it is all I want".

Examples With Derived Meaning.

taima "That's enough"./"That's all"; taavali (taava + enclitic -li "but") "That's it"./"I give in"./"No more". (Used in a mood of resignation in an adverse situation). taava qiatualimmimat anigiigivuk "There now, as soon as it starts crying out he goes again"; tagga "There now"./"I told you so"; tagga ajagannit siqumivuk "Look now, when you pushed it off it broke".

3. Demonstrative Adverbs

These words are only inflected in the four local cases with no number inflection. They have special endings which correspond in meaning to the ordinary noun case endings. They are added directly to the stem.

	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Demonstrative Adverb</u>
Loc.	-mi	-ani
Abl.	-mit	-annat
Term.	-mut	-una
Vial.	-kkut	-uuna

Examples of Demonstrative Adverb Paradigms.

	<u>MEL</u>	<u>EEL</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Lpc.	tavvani	tagvane	(in) there
Abl.	tavvannat	tagvángat	from there
Term.	tavvuna	tagvunga	(to) there
Vial.	tavvuuna	tagvûna	through there
Loc.	maahi	mâne	(in) here
Abl.	maahnat	măngat	from here
Term.	mauna	maunga	(to) here
Vial.	maûna	mauna	through here
Loc.	ikani	ikane	(in) over there
Abl.	ikannat	ikăngat	from over there
Term.	ikuna	ikunga	(to) over there
Vial.	ikuuna	ikûna	through over there
Loc.	avani	avane	there in the north
Abl.	avannat	avángat	from there in the north
Term.	avuna	avunga	(to) there in the north
Vial.	avuuna	avûna	through there in the north

The formation and inflection of the demonstrative adverbs is very regular. tavvani and related forms have assimilated the EEL consonant cluster -gv-. Phonetically the lengthened consonant has become devoiced

in MEL so that tavvani for instance is pronounced [taffani]. There is one inconsistency in the preceding paradigms, the vial. form mauna, where the /u/ is short. That must be due to the fact that it is preceded by a vowel. The only other stems where the same conditions apply are pa(k) and a(k). Their loc. forms are paani and aani, vial. forms pauna and auna.

Examples.

maannat aullalaakqugut "We shall go away from here"; maani illugavuk unuttunik qikittami "There are many houses here on the island"; allak uvaniittuk "The book is here"; aujak aunalaakqiin "Are you going to the south in summer?"; taikuuna pisulauttut "They walked through there"; itlivik qailauguk paannat "Hand me the box from up there"; tavvanitlanak "Don't be there".

It was pointed out earlier that the stem im "there out of sight" does not form regular demonstrative adverbs any more in MEL. The abl. form taimannat still exists in the temporal meaning "from that time on", e.g. taimannat inuulilaugami avannat nuulausimannituk "From the time he was born he has not moved away from the north". An addition of the nominal abl. ending -nit makes the time referred to even more removed, e.g. taimannanit avanimiuk "a northerner from time immemorial".

4. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have all the paradigmatic forms of an ordinary unpossessed noun, but their case endings are different from those of a noun.

	<u>Noun</u>		<u>Demonstrative Pronoun</u>	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Abs.	-k	-t	-na	-kua
Rel.	-up	-t	-ma	-kua
Mod.	-mik	-nik	-mina	-(ku)nina
Loc.	-mi	-ni	-mani	-(ku)nani
Abl.	-mit	-nit	-mannat	-(ku)nannat
Term.	-mut	-nut	-muna	-(ku)nuna
Vial.	-kkut	-kkut/ -tigut	-muuna	-(ku)tiguuna
Aeq.	-tut	-tut/ -titut	-tunak	-(ku)titunak

An ordinary noun does not have a special case marker in abs. The number marker /k/ in the sg. and /t/ in the pl. serve as such. /t/ marks also the rel. pl. The abs. sg. of a demonstrative pronoun ends in -na, the abs. pl. in -kua. The -ku- element is perhaps related to the affix -kut "the family, company of", and thus is the number marker of the pl. The /a/ following it is the case marker proper, which falls off before other case endings. Both ordinary nouns and demonstratives have syncretized the abs. and rel. pl. Dependence marker /p/ manifests itself as /m/ in the sg., /n/ in the pl. in both nominal and demonstrative inflection in most of the adverbial cases, and even in the rel. sg. of the demonstrative inflection.

Apart from the different endings there is another difference between nominal and demonstrative paradigms. While nouns have only

one stem form to which the endings are attached demonstratives have one stem for the abs. sg. and the whole pl. paradigm, and another, morphophonemically modified stem for the rest of the sg. forms. We call the latter a relative stem. E.g. the stem im has a relative stem itsu (EEL ipso).

Abs. sg. im+na > inna

Abs. pl. im+kua > ikkua

Loc. sg. itsu+mani > itsumani

The demonstratives can be divided into three groups according to the type of relative stem they have. We shall illustrate the relative stem with the rel. sg. form, with the ending hyphenated, in the list below.

	MEL		EEL	
	<u>Abs. sg.</u>	<u>Rel. sg.</u>	<u>Abs. sg.</u>	<u>Rel. sg.</u>
1.	una	uu-ma	una	o-ma
2.	manna	matu-ma	manna	matto-ma
3.	inna	itsu-ma	imna	ipso-ma
	avanna	avatsu-ma	amna	apso-ma
	anna	atsu-ma	angna	akso-ma
	panna	patsu-ma	pangna	pakso-ma
	unna	utsu-ma	ungna	ukso-ma
	ikinna	ikitsu-ma	ikingna	ikikso-ma
	pinna	pitsu-ma	pingna	pikso-ma
	kanna	katsu-ma	kanna	katto-ma

In one case the ta form belongs to a different relative stem group than the simple form. That is taanna (ta-uv-na), which belongs to the third group, with the rel. sg. taatsuma. kanna has a relative stem according to group 3 in MEL: katsuma, whereas in EEL it belonged to group 2 like manna.

Example Paradigms of the Three Stem Types.

	<u>MEL</u>		<u>EEL</u>	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Abs.	una	ukua	una	ukkua
Rel.	uuma	ukua	ôma	ukkua
Mod.	uumina	ukunina	ôminga	ukkuninga
Loc.	uumani	ukunani	ômane	ukkunane
Abl.	uumannat	ukunannat	ômángat ²	ukkunángat
Term.	uumuna	ukununa	ômunga	ukkununga
Vial.	uumuuna	ukutiguuna	ômûna	ukkutigûna
Aeq.	uutunak	ukutitunak	ôtunaK	ukkutitunaK
Abs.	manna	makua	manna	makkua ³
Rel.	matuma	makua	mattoma	makkua
Mod.	matumina	makunina	mattominga	makkunángat
Loc.	matumani	makunani	mattomane	makkunane
Abl.	matumannat	makunannat	mattomángat	makkunángat
Term.	matumuna	makununa	mattomunga	makkununga
Vial.	matumuuna	makutiguuna	mattomûna	makkutigûna
Aeq.	matumatut	makutitut	mattotunaK	makkutitunaK

Abs.	inna	ikkua	imna	ipkoa
Rel.	itsuma	ikkua	ipsoma	ipkoa
Mod.	itsumina	ikkunina	ipsominga	ipkuninga
Loc.	itsumani	ikkunani	ipsomane	ipkunaŋe
Abl.	itsumannat	ikkunannat	ipsomángat	ipkunángat
Term.	itsumuna	ikkununa	ipsomunga	ipkununga
Vial.	itsumuuna	ikkutiguuna	ipsomûna	ipkutigûna
Aeq.	itsumatut	ikkutitut	ipsotunaK	ipkutitunaK

The above paradigms contain only the forms which follow the traditional inflective pattern. The differences caused by assimilation concern only the stems, e.g. EEL imna > MEL inna "that one (out of sight)", EEL ipsomane > MEL itsumani "in that one", EEL ipkua > MEL ikkua "those".⁴

The final /K/ has become /k/ in those aeq. endings which still retain the traditional ending, e.g. uutunak "like this one" (EEL ôtunaK). man and inna have lost the older form in aeq. Their innovative forms in the sg. are matumatut "like this" and itsumatut "like that". The pl. forms are only shortened versions of the traditional form.

Even in other cases there are a great many innovative forms as alternants for the traditional forms. We have not included them in the above paradigms because it has been impossible for us to determine their status in the language. We will simply list the ones attested. (The traditional form in brackets).

Relative

(uuma) unaup, uumaup

(matuma) mannaup

(itsuma) innaup

(avatsuma) avannaup

(atsuma) annaup

(patsuma) pannaup

(utsuma) unnaup

(ikitsuma) ikinnaup

(pitsuma) pinnaup

(katsuma) kannaup

All stems have innovative forms in the rel. sg.,⁵ the formation of which is abs. sg. plus nominal rel. ending -up, except uumaup, which is a double relative.

Modalis

Sg. (matumina) mannamik

Pl. { (makunina) makuanik

{ (ikkunina) ikkuunik

The same system of forming the innovative forms holds here as in the rel. case: abs. sg. or pl. plus nominal mod. ending -mik or -nik.

Vialis

(ukutiguuna) ukutigit

(makutiguuna) makutigit

(ikkutiguuna) ikkutigit

(pikkutiguuna) pikkunuuna

In vial. alternants occur only in the pl. Most of them have the traditional nominal ending of vial. pl. -tigit instead of the

demonstrative ending -tiguuna. pikkunuuna has an ending which is like the demonstrative ending of vial. sg. -muuna with /m/ changed to /n/ in the pl. This kind of vial. pl. formation is mentioned also by Bourquín as a rarer alternant, e.g. EEL ukkuuna for ukkutiguuna.⁶

Aequalis

Sg.	(uutunak) uumatut, unatut
	--- matumiatut
	--- itsumatut
	(pitsumatunak) pitsumatut, pinnatut
Pl.	--- ikitsumatut, ikinnatut
	(ukutitunak) ukutitut, ukuatut
	--- makutitut
	--- ikkutitut
	(pikkutitunak) pikkutitut, pikkuatut
	--- ikikkuatut

In aeq. there is the greatest variety of alternants. In the sg. the innovative forms are composed of (1) the abs. form plus nominal aeq. ending -tut or (2) the rel. form plus nominal aeq. ending -tut. In the pl. the composition is (1) abs. pl. plus nominal aeq. ending -tut or (2) the pl. stem plus nominal aeq. pl. ending -titut, which in effect is a shortened version of the traditional demonstrative ending of aeq. pl. -titunak.

Examples.

atuagamik uumina piutsavuna "I like this book"; ukua allait

numutausimajut "These books are not available"; taakkua piqutiniit
asiusimajut "Those people's belongings got lost"; taatsuma illuuna
qanittuk "His house is near"; manna aanniajuk "This part is aching";
taitsumuuna allatitsivuna "I sent the letter through him"; tainna
takqajaak pigikqaujaga "I liked that film"; pakkua aputiqapput "Those
 (places, people, hills etc.) up there have snow"; qakqakut ikitsumuuna
atitsaaqauvuguk "We two went through that hill over there".

5. Meaning of Demonstratives

All demonstratives mean basically "this here" or "that there", but with a great deal of precision as to "here" and "there". The relative positions of the speaker, the addressee and the subject talked about, its physical presence or absence, whether it is a delimited object or something amorphous, concrete or abstract, human or non-human are all factors which determine the choice of a demonstrative.

The demonstratives can be divided into three groups according to their meaning.

- (1) Those meaning simply "this" or "that".
- (2) Those meaning "that one in the north" or "that one in the south".
- (3) Those meaning "that one up there" or "that one down there".

As was said earlier the ta(k) prefix can be attached to all demonstratives except tavvani "there" and its related forms. The use of ta(k) presupposes prior knowledge of the subject on the part of the addressee. Either the subject has been mentioned before or it is physically closer to the addressee than the speaker. From the speaker's point of view it can be said that the ta(k) form has a distancing effect,

in either physical or figurative sense. We will illustrate these points when discussing the meanings of the individual pronouns.

1. una, manna, inna, ikinna⁷

Both una and manna mean "this here", i.e. where the speaker is, but una refers to an object with a definite shape and boundaries whereas manna refers to something with undefined dimensions. E.g. una titigutik piunnituk "This pen is no good"; manna imak salumaittuk "This water is polluted". The pl. makua, of course, refers to itemized objects, but even that differs from ukua in that it gives a feeling of things scattered about, e.g. makua taikkua piqutinit "These things here are those people's belongings". Besides, makua can never refer to people in MEL, except in a pejorative use, which is contrary to EEL usage, manna never could refer to a person. This is the only demonstrative pronoun that has this restriction, though some of the others may only rarely be used of people. manna can refer to abstract things, una cannot. In MEL manna occurs in this usage mainly in fixed expressions, e.g. matuma sivunani "before this (time)". Otherwise it is beginning to be replaced by taanna, ta form of una, e.g. taanna isumaga "this thought of mine" for manna isumaga. In taanna isumaga we see the distancing effect of ta(k) as also in taakkua allait numtausimajut "Those books are not available". The use of taakkua implies that the titles were only mentioned whereas ukua allait numtausimajut "These books are not available" implies that the titles are written down and at hand. A distancing effect of ta(k) is felt in this sentence, too, taanna tasik salumaittuk "This lake is

polluted"; which can be said to somebody standing at an equal distance from the lake as the speaker. Basically the contrast between una and taanna is "this which I can touch" and "that which you can touch".

inna and ikinna both mean "that one", but with an important difference: inna is "that one out of sight", ikinna "that one over there in sight". ikinna and taanna differ from each other in that the former refers to objects at a greater distance than taanna, as the translation "over there" of ikinna conveys.

When a person or thing that is not in sight is mentioned in the conversation for the first time the identity of the referee of inna has to be somehow defined in the sentence. Otherwise inna has an indefinite meaning "someone". E.g. inna ippasak maaniilauttuk ilinnik ginikqaujuk "The one who was here yesterday was looking for you". qatautivut ikkua akkaani aniqqasimajut puiguttauniannitut "Those brethren of ours who went home last year will not be forgotten". Compare to this una kiap illunaa? itsuma/innaup "Whose house is this? Somebody's". To answer taitsuma would mean "That one's (who is not here now, but whom you know)".

The words una, inna and ikinna and their ta forms are the three demonstratives most commonly used to refer to persons, in which usage they often translate "he", "she", "they".

2. avanna, anna

The original meaning of avanna is "that which is there in the north" and of anna "that which is there in the south", but in MEL these pronouns do not normally refer to an individual thing or person or even place, but to a general area in the northerly or southerly direction.

E.g. anna qasunajuk manna anugittilugu "That land in the south is calm while here it is windy"; or simply "South is calm etc."; avannaup silana "the weather of the north". They come close to an ordinary noun in meaning. avanna and anna can refer to an individual thing more readily in the sg. than in the pl. E.g. gakqaaluk anna "that mountain in the south" is idiomatic Eskimo, but gakqaaluit akkua "those mountains in the south" is not because pluralizing implies seeing, and if something is close enough to be seen ikinna is the normal expression, gakqaaluit ikikkua "those mountains over there". When one wants to refer to individual things in the north or south derivatives of the demonstrative adverbs avani "there in the north" and aani "there in the south" are used, such as the intransitive participle avaniittuk "the one in the north" or one with the affix -miuk "inhabitant of", aanimiuk "a southerner". E.g. qupannuait avaniittut "northern birds", ilakka aanimiut "my southern relatives".

The local cases of the pronouns anna and avanna are generally replaced by the corresponding demonstrative adverbs, e.g. avani silanniluvuk "In the north the weather is bad"; aannat nuulausimannituk "He has not moved from the south". The reason is that an adverb in general is less specific than a noun (a pronoun) as an expression of place.

3. panna, pinna, unna, kanna

panna and pinna mean "that up there", unna and kanna "that down there". However, we do not have two pairs of exact synonyms. panna and unna are the same kind of expressions as anna, avanna and manna; in other words they refer to a general area in upward or downward

direction. pinna and kanna are specifying. They are semantically akin to una. The following expressions will illustrate the difference between panna (in this case paani specifically) and pinna. qakqaup qaanan paani "on top of the hill up there (generally)", pitsuma qakqaup qaanan "on top of that (individual) hill up there".

panna and unna have derived meanings "that in the west" and "that in the east" or simply "west" and "east". These meanings are related to the original meanings in an obvious way. On the east coast of Labrador higher ground is towards the west, lower ground towards the east. The EEL forms of pinna and kanna could also be used in the meanings "that in the west" and "that in the east" respectively. It appears that there were two sets of words for north, south, east and west. One was amna, angna, ungna and pangna, the other ingna, ikingna, kánna and pingna (See III, 1). The former series could be used without any restriction, the latter only at relatively short distances. Of the latter series ingna has been lost altogether and the other three have lost their reference to any point of compass. MEL unna and panna have the meanings "that in the east" and "that in the west" only secondarily.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹Related dialects have only one stem to be identified with ing or ik such as Greenlandic ik giving the pronoun inga or ingna (Kleinschmidt 1851: 22). Some dialects to the west of our area of concern have only ingna (Turquetil 1928: 26) and (Mallon and Kusugak 1972: 56).

²Bourquin does not have the diacritic - in the ablative forms in his sample paradigms, but in the text he gives the abl. ending as -angat (Bourquin 1891: 88).

³Bourquin uses both spellings makkoa and makkua. The same discrepancy occurs with other pl. forms, too.

⁴For more stem assimilations see III, 1.

⁵Even rel. pl. forms like ukuap "of these" occurred sporadically in the course of our investigation.

⁶Alternative forms may have been more common in EEL than is implied by Bourquin. There is some evidence of this in Erdmann's dictionary. The word for "that one in the east" is given as takkanna. Its rel. forms are takkatoma and takkaksoma (compare the MEL relative stem of kanna, III, 4), loc. forms takkattomane and takkaksomane (Erdmann 1864: 316). Some alternants were perhaps regarded as "ungrammatical". Bourquin had a prescriptive tendency. The sentence "Doch ist dies nicht nachzuahmen" ("But this is not to be imitated". Translation L.C.) is repeated more than once in his grammar.

⁷Only the pronouns are listed in the headings, but mutatis mutandis the same observations about meaning apply to demonstrative adverbs as well.

CHAPTER IV

INTERROGATIVES kina, suna AND nani

Two pronouns kina "who" and suna "what" and an interrogative pronominal adverb nani "where" will be discussed in this chapter.

1. kina and suna

	<u>MEL</u>		<u>EEL</u>	
	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Abs.	kina	kikkut	kina	kikkut
Rel.	kiap/	kikkut/	kia	kikkut
	kinaup	kikkup		
Mod.	kinamik	kikkunik	kinamik/	kikkunik
			kimik	
Loc.	kinami	kikkuni	kiname/	kikkune
			(kime)	
Abl.	kinamit	kikkunit	kinamit/	kikkunit
			kimit	
Term.	kinamut	kikkunut	kinamut/	kikkunut
			kimut	
Vial.	kinakkut	kikkukut	kinakut	kikkutigut
Aeq.	kinatut	kikkutut	kinatut	kikkutitut

Abs.	sunā	sunat	sunā	sunat
Rel.	sunāup	sunat/ sunāup	sunāb	sunat
Mod.	sunamik	sunanik	sunānik/ sumik	sunanik
Loc.	sunami	sunani	suname/ (sume)	sunane
Abl.	sunamit	sunanit	sunamit/ (sumit)	sunanit
Term.	sunamut	sunanut	sunamut/ sumut	sunanut
Vial.	sunakkut	sunakkūt	sunākkut/ sukkut	sunatigut
Aeq.	sunatut	sunatut	sunatut	sunatitut

The pronouns kina and sunā have mixed morphology sharing features with demonstrative pronoun and noun inflection. kina is made up of the stem ki and the ending -na, sunā of the stem su and the ending -na, which is also the demonstrative pronoun ending in the abs. sg. kikkut, abs. (and rel.) pl. of kina ends in -kut "family or company of", an affix which is also an element in the abs. (and rel.) pl. of demonstratives. Otherwise the inflection of kina and sunā in MEL is like that of an unpossessed noun.

In the case of kina and sunā the differences between MEL and EEL forms are not caused by phonological changes. EEL had contracted forms in the sg. in most cases. In these the case ending was added directly to the stem without the intermediary syllable -na-. The

forms which are bracketed in the above paradigms were used only rarely. Modern native speakers do not generally use the contracted forms. They are regarded as "foreign".

In MEL the rel. sg. of kina is either kiap or kinaup. EEL had only kia. kia and kiap are also contracted forms though different from those which occurred in the adverbial cases. If the rel. of kina had originally the same ending as the demonstratives it would have been *kima, from which kia through the elimination of the rel. marker /m/. MEL has added the nominal rel. case marker -(u)p.

The ending -(u)p is added even to the rel. pl., traditionally no different from the abs. pl. We have mentioned this phenomenon before in passing. (Notes to Chapter III). As far as we can judge -(u)p ending in the rel. pl. has a firmer footing amongst the interrogatives than amongst the demonstrative pronouns or ordinary nouns, where it is also heard occasionally. kikkup is contracted from kikku-up, no doubt because kikkuup would indicate dl.

MEL has eliminated the endings -tigut and -titut for the vial. and aeq. pl. and uses the originally sg. endings -kkut and -tut for both numbers, e.g. kinakkut "through whom", i.e. "through what person" or "through what persons".

In MEL kina and suna are interrogatives only. In EEL they could also have an indefinite meaning: kina "someone, anyone", suna "something, anything". In MEL they can have an indefinite meaning only when modified by the generalizing affix -tuinnak "only, no matter what". They can also add the enclitic suffix -luunniit "even" and then have a negative meaning in an otherwise negative sentence,

kinalluuniit "(not) anybody", sunalluuniit "(not) anything". (See II, 4).

Examples.

kinauviin? "Who are you?" (Answer: Taamiuvuna "I am Tom.");
kikkuvisii? "Who are you (pl.)?" (Answer: Taamikkuuvugut "We are Tom's family members."); sunauvaa? "What is it?" (Answer: inuuvuk "It's a human being."); kina takukqauvaa? "Who saw?"; kiap/kinaup takukqauvaun? "Who saw it?"; kinanik takukqauviin? "Whom (pl.) did you see?"; sunamik suliaqaviin? "What do you do (for a living)?" (Answer: ilinniatitsijiuvena "I am a teacher"); sunanik itlivimmut ilisiviin? "What things did you put in the box?" (Answer: sunaunnitunik "Nothing (pl.)"); kinamut piigutik aakqauviun? "Whom did you give the key to?"; sunamut annitausimayaa? "What has he been hurt with?"

with -tuinnak

kinatuinnak pigumajuk aullasuuk "Whoever wants to can go."; kinatuinnamut tukisijausuuk "Anybody can understand it."; sunatuinnamik sanasuuk "He can make anything."

with -luunniit/-lluunniit

kinaluunniit qainnituk "Nobody at all came."; kinamilluunniit takunnillanna "I did not see anybody."; sunamilluunniit taisinnituk "He did not mention anything."; sunamulluunniit sanutitauniannituk "He will not be changed by anything."

2. nani

nani "where" is the interrogative equivalent to the demonstrative adverbs. Like them it is inflected in the four local cases.

	<u>MEL</u>	<u>EEL</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Loc.	nani	nane	(in) where
Abl.	nakit	nakit	from where
Term.	namut	namut	(to) where
Vial.	naukkut	naukut	through where

The endings of nani are nominal endings with some irregularities. The loc. form has the loc. pl. ending -ni. The abl. ending is -kit instead of the nominal abl. ending -mit. In the vial. there is an extra vowel /u/. Could it be of the same origin as /u/ or /uu/ in the vial. of demonstrative adverbs, e.g. mauna "through here"?

Examples.

nakit piviin? "Where are you coming from?"; nanimiunuviiin? "Where are you from?"; naukkut tikiviin? "Through where did you come (through what route)?" / "By what (means of transport) did you come?"

with -tuinnak

namutsuatuinnak aigaluaguvit kiinaujamik pigumaqattalaakqutit

"Wherever you go you will need money."

CHAPTER V

FUNCTIONS OF THE PRONOUN IN A SENTENCE

The subject matter of this chapter is divided into two related but distinct parts. The first and major part will survey the syntactic functions of the pronoun in general. The second, shorter part will elucidate a peculiar usage of some demonstratives when in enclitic position in certain kinds of questions and corresponding answers.

1. Syntactic Functions of the Pronoun

In an Eskimo sentence a verb is the all important element. It can constitute the whole sentence without any other elements and, conversely, only if the finite verb¹ is missing is the sentence regarded as elliptical. The finite verb contains all the information as to the number and person of the actor in the case of an intransitive verb, and the number and person of the actor and goal in the case of a transitive verb. This statement needs to be qualified slightly, for in some instances there is syncretism of number, e.g. takuvaatit "He sees you/They two see you/They see you". However, the information given by the verbal suffixes can be, and mostly is, amplified by independent words, nouns or their equivalents, pronouns. These independent words correspond to the verbal suffixes in number and person. Nouns can thus be viewed as having various kinds of relations to the verb. A noun can also have relations to another noun. We will illustrate the various relations with ordinary nouns first and then

see how pronouns fit into these relationships. We indicate the relations with symbolic letters for shortness of reference.

A. Relations between a Noun and a Verb

SIV A noun in the abs. case as a subject of an intransitive verb.

E.g. anutik takuvuk "The man sees".

STV A noun in the rel. case as a subject of a transitive verb.

E.g. anutiup takuvaa "The man sees it".

OTV A noun in the absolutive case as an object of a transitive verb.

E.g. tinijuuk takuvaa "He sees the aeroplane".

STV and OTV combined: anutiup tinijuuk takuvaa "The man sees the aeroplane".

AAV A noun, usually in an adverbial case, as an adverbial adjunct to the verb. This is a looser relationship between a noun and a verb than the other three. There are no binding suffixes in the verb.

E.g. uqaalavuna niuvittimut "I talked to the trader". AAV

can, of course, be incorporated in any of the other sentences.

E.g. anutik niuvittimut uqaalajuk "The man talked to the

trader". (SIV + AAV). anutiup tinijuuk qilami takuvaa "The

man sees the aeroplane in the sky". (STV + OTV + AAV).

Occasionally a noun in the abs. case can occur in this relationship, e.g. aujak avunalaakqiin? "Will you go to the north in summer?"

B. Relations Between Two Nouns

DN A dependence relation where a noun in a rel. case qualifies another noun, which must bear the corresponding possessive suffix, mostly that of a 3. person. Dependence relationship is typically a possessor-possessum relation, but it can also be a whole-part relation, a familial relation or some other kind of relationship implying appurtenance.

E.g. anutiup illuna "the man's house"; qakqaup qaana "on top of the hill".

AN An appositional relation where the two terms agree in number and case, but not in possessor relationship.

E.g. illuk qauttak "a white house"; illunanik qauttamik "his white house (mod.)",

QN Under this symbol we will consider a relationship where a noun is qualified by another noun in an adverbial case. It seems to occur only in exceptional circumstances in EL. Usually the qualifying expression is turned into an intransitive participle, and the whole relationship becomes AN. E.g. illuk qakqaup qaana "the house (being) on the hill"; akqusi "the road (going) through the valley". A sentence like anugi imappimit tagiugalak "Wind from the sea is salty." is possible, but it is better expressed by anugi imappimit pijuk tagiugalak "Wind coming from the sea is salty.", where imappimit qualifies pijuk, a verbal form.

In connection with certain derivational endings which are nominal in form, but verbal in nature, an adverbial qualifier occurs,

e.g. anutik piujunnik qamutillik "a man owning a good sledge" (lit. "a man--with a good one (mod. dl.)--provided with a sledge").

We have attested only one instance where there is a genuine adverbial qualifier of a noun: allanit atautsimik pigumavuna "I want one of the books". The abl. allanit is perhaps conditioned by the numeral atautsik, for a whole-part relation is usually expressed by DN, e.g. inuit ilanit "some of the people".

In the following we will first give examples of the occurrence of the various morphological categories in the preceding syntagmas, and comment on them afterwards. In investigating syntactic matters the student's lack of knowledge of the target language is a more serious handicap than it is in the investigation of morphology because a relationship which exists may not come to his notice.² Let the reader of the following pages be aware of this fact.

The numbers after each example refer to the chapter and its subdivision where the morphology and the meaning of the pronoun or pronominal in question is discussed.

- SIV uvana qaiivuna "I come". (II, 1).
kisitta maanlivugut "Only we are here". (II, 2)
tamannuk qaujimaavuguk "We both know". (II, 2)
namminik taimaak uqalaukqutit "You yourself said so". (II, 3).
nallia qaijuun? "Which one of them is coming?" (II, 4)
nallisi uvannik maligasuaajuun? "Which of you are intending to come with me?" (II, 4)
asivit tamaaniittut "Some other people (than you) were there". (II, 5)

ilanit Taamimik ikajuvut "Some of them helped Tom". (II, 5)

ukua uqumaittut "These are heavy". (III, 4)

tainna ilinnik ikajulaattuk "He will help you". (III, 4)

panna aputiqappuk "The western region has snow". (III, 4)

takakkua kaajut "Those people down there are hungry". (III, 4)

kina takukqauvaa? "Who saw?" (IV, 1)

suna katavaa? "What fell down?" (IV, 1).

All pronouns can occur in the SIV syntagma except imminik, which retains its mod. case meaning and therefore cannot occur as a subject. Personal pronouns are generally avoided as a subject of an intransitive verb since no further specification of the person with 1. and 2. person suffixes is necessary. uvana qaivuna "I come" is therefore grammatically correct, but stylistically poor, even as an emphatic expression. Personal pronouns occur in SIV more readily in elliptical sentences such as a one-word answer to a question, e.g. kina aullaniakqaa? uvana "Who will go? I (will)".

The personal and extended personal pronouns together represent all three persons, which means that the full range of personal suffixes occur with them, not only in SIV but also in STV and OTV. The other pronouns belong to the 3. person with two exceptions. The reflexive pronoun namminik, though it synchronically has no person marker, can represent any person, e.g. namminik aullagumavusi "You yourselves wanted to go.", 2. pl.; illumunik namminik sanajut "They built their house themselves.", 3. pl. The other exception concerns the indefinite pronouns ilavut and ilasi. ilavut "some of us" and ilasi "some of you" correspond to either 1. and 2. pl. endings respectively or 3. pl. ending

according to whether the speaker/addressee is included or not in the statement. E.g. ilavut nigivugut "Some of us ate.", the speaker included; ilavut nigivut "Some of us ate.", the speaker excluded.

The iluunnak derivatives have two alternate forms in the 3. person in MEL without any difference in meaning. E.g. iluunnani/iluunnana quasimajuk "All of it is frozen."; iluunnatik/iluunnanit aputimut saujausimavut "All of them are covered in snow." When iluunnak stem with 1. or 2. person possessive suffixes is used with the 3. person verbal suffixes its nominal character asserts itself. E.g. iluunnait aputimut saujausimavuk "Your whole being is covered in snow." (noun), but iluunnait aputimut saujausimavutit "You are all covered in snow." (pronoun).

STV kinaup takukqauvauun? (IV, 1) ivviin? (II, 1) aa, uvana
(II, 1) "Who saw it? You? Yes, me."
kisima takuvaga "Only I see it." (II, 2)
iluunnaita takuvaana "Only they see me." (II, 2)
nalliata una pigumavauun? "Which one of them wants this?"
(II, 4)
asitta ikajuvaa "Others (than us) helped him." (II, 5)
ilanita natsanlakqaa "Some of them took him along." (II, 5)
taatsuma ikajulaakqaatit "He will help you." (III, 4)
taikkua takuvaagut "They saw us." (III, 4)
kikkut takukqauvaan? "Who (pl.) saw it?" (IV, 1)
sunaup siqumivauun? "What broke it?" (IV, 1).

Basically the same categories of pronouns occur here as in the

SIV syntagma, but there are a couple of more restrictions. Firstly,

neither reflexive pronoun occurs here. Secondly, the 1. and 2. dl. forms tamannuk "we both" and tamattik "you both" are only abs. forms with abs. usage and therefore they do not occur as a subject of a transitive verb. Some other construction is resorted to when these two dl. pronouns express the actor, e.g. pigumajauvut tamattinut "We both want them", where we have a passive verb form with the agent expressed by the term. case. The 3. dl. has a regular rel. case tamaagita for use in STV. A further remark about the extended personal pronouns is that those in the kisi paradigm and the 1. and 2. person pronouns in iluunnak do not have a separate form for the SIV and STV syntagmas.

The same observation can be made about the occurrence of personal pronouns in this as in the SIV syntagma.

- OTV ivvit takujatuagivaatit "He sees only you." (II, 1)
kisivit uppigivagit "I believe only you." (II, 2)
tamattik takuvaatik "He sees both of you." (II, 2)
iluunnatik/iluunnanit piugivakka "I like all of them." (II, 2)
nallina ikajukqauviuun? "Which one of them did you (sg.) help?"
 (II, 4)
asivut takuvait "They saw others than us." (II, 5)
ilana pigumavaga "I want some of it." (II, 5)
ilasi uppigivait "He trusts some of you." (II, 5)
ukua uppigivakka "I trust these people." (III, 4)
manna tusagamiuk aullalauttuk "When he heard this he left."
 (III, 4)

kina sitjami takukqauvisiun? "Whom did you (pl.) see on the beach?" (IV, 1)

suna sitjami takukqauviun? "What did you (sg.) see on the beach?" (IV, 1).

All pronouns occur in this relationship except the reflexives. In this syntactic context it is fitting to mention again (See II, 2) the realignment of functions and forms which has taken place since EEL among some of the extended personal pronouns. We will consider kisi and iluunnak derivatives first. In both EEL and MEL the 1. and 2. person pronouns have one and the same form, externally a rel. case form, for use in all three syntagmas SIV, STV and OTV. In EEL the 3. person pronouns had forms with the reflexive 3. person endings, kissime, kissimik (rel.) and illünane, illünatik (abs.) for SIV and STV, and forms with the non-reflexive 3. person endings kissiat, kissêta (rel.) and illünât, illünaita (rel.) for use in OTV. In MEL the forms kissiat and kissêta have fallen into disuse and kisimi, kisimik are used for all syntagmas. iluunnani and iluunnatik are used undifferentiated in SIV and OTV, and rel. case forms iluunnanata, iluunnaqita have arisen for use in STV. As regards the dual pronouns in tamak the change has been somewhat different. EEL form tamannuk (1. dl.), tamattik (2. dl.) and tamarmik (3. dl.) were rel. case forms, but used also as abs. forms, in other words in the three syntagmas SIV, STV and OTV. In MEL tamannuk (1. dl.) and tamattik (2. dl.) are still morphologically the same as the EEL forms, but they have an abs. case usage only, i.e. in SIV and OTV. In the 3. dl. there is a change similar to that which has taken place in iluunnak pronouns in the 3.

person. There is a pure abs. form tamaagik (which is not a morphological offspring of tamarmik) for use in the SIV and OTV syntagmas, and a new rel. case form tamaagita for use in STV.

- AAV tiguvaa uvattinit "He took it from us." (II, 1)
uvattini taimaak taijaunnituk "It is not called that among us."
 (II, 1)
ilitsitut suunujut "They are strong like you." (II, 1)
kisinnik takujuk "He sees only you." (II, 2)
iluunnakut aanniavuna "I have pain all over." (lit. "through all of me.") (II, 2)
namminik takuvuna "I see myself." (II, 3)
imminik qakitsijuk "He hauls it by himself." (II, 3)
appaniniakqutit immigut. "You will run alone." (II, 3)
nallinanit muutakaak tillitausimajuun? "From which one of them was the car stolen?" (II, 4)
tusasimavugut asinnit "We heard it from some other people than you." (II, 5)
ilattinut ikajuttauniakqutit "You will be helped by some of us."
 (II, 5)
uumannat aninitsauviin? "Are you bigger than him?" (III, 3)
ikitsumuuna pisulauttuk "He walked through there." (III, 4)
inunnuugit ikikkununa "Go to those people over there." (III, 4)
avannat nuulautsimannituk "He has not moved from the north."
 (III, 3)
pauna qimutsilauttuk "He travels from the west with a dog team."
 (III, 3)

maani illuluviqavuk "There are many houses here." (III, 3)

kinamut piigutik aakqauviuun? "Whom did you give the key to?"

(IV, 1)

naukkut tikiyiin "Through where did you come?" (IV, 2)

All pronouns, in an adverbial case, and all pronominal adverbs occur in this relationship. Demonstrative exclamations in their original meaning have to be regarded as being adverbial adjuncts though they typically occur in an elliptical sentence. E.g. tagga Saami "Here's Sam"; tappika kitjautiik "There they are, scissors." When they are used in a derived meaning they correspond to our sentence adverbs. E.g. taava kiinaufattaatuagami imialutsigigivuk "There now, as soon as he gets some money he buys beer again."

The 3. sg. loc. of kisi, kisiani, is also used as a sentence adverb in e.g. kisiani silakqipat aullaniakquna "Only if the weather is good am I going."

The word tamaat is diachronically the rel. case of a 3. person pronoun, but in MEL it has an adverbial use only. E.g. tamaat maunagama sinigattatuk "Every time when I come here he sleeps."

DN kiap illuna unaa? "Whose house is this?" (IV, 1)

uvana "Mine." (II, 1)

iluunnata piqutivut saamiittut "The possessions of all of us are on the table." (II, 2)

iluunnanita piqutininnik takuvuna "I see the possessions of all of them." (II, 2)

tamaagita illuna ikisimajuk "The house of them both burnt down."

(II, 2)

nallinata tumunani taqqaqavaa? "Behind which one of them is there shade?" (II, 4)

illuk taanna asimma pina "That house is somebody else's possession than mine." (II, 5)

ilatta allanit asiusimajut "The books of some of us got lost." (II, 5)

uuma tauttuna qinnitak "The colour of this is black." (III, 4)
makua taikkua pigutinit "These things are those people's belongings." (III, 4)

matuma sivunani "before this" (III, 4)

taakkua sunaup tuminiin? "To what do these tracks belong?" (IV, 1)

Obviously pronominal adverbs are excluded from this relationship, and there are some restrictions on the occurrence of pronouns, too. Reflexive pronouns do not occur here. Of the extended personal pronouns only the pl. forms iluunnata, iluunnasi and iluunnanita, and the 3. dl. form tamaagita occur here. The personal pronouns do not readily occur in this relationship for the same reason as in the SIV, STV and OTV syntagmas. An interesting observation about MEL usage is that in some instances a personal pronoun in DN relationship is required to mark the possessor because suffixal endings are ambiguous, either originally or because phonological changes have made them so, E.g. the vial. of the word muutak "motor boat" is muutakkut, but it is also the vial. of muutak with the 2. sg. suffix. Thus it is sometimes necessary to say ivvit muutakkut for "by your boat". The 1. sg. possessor is mostly expressed with the suffix -ga/-kka by modern speakers, but

sometimes the old forms are used, particularly when idiomatic expressions such as localizers (expressions meaning "in front of", "behind", "by the side of", "underneath" etc.) are involved. The adverbial cases of the old forms are identical in MEL with corresponding case forms with the 2. sg. suffixes. E.g. the location word tunuk "the space behind somebody" has the forms tununni (< EEL tunumne) and tunugani "behind me", and tununni (< EEL tunungne) "behind you". The form tununni by itself is obviously felt to have a more legitimate claim to the 2. sg. possessor, and therefore uvak/uvana tununni is used for "behind me" as well as tunugani.

- AN uvana kisima takuvamma "You see only me." (II, 1, 2)
- uvagut namminik takuvugut "We ourselves saw." (II, 1, 3)
- una kisimi pigumajaga "Only this one I want." (III, 4; II, 2)
- puijit kisimik taimaittumik ilusiqavut "Only seals have such habits." (II, 2).
- piqutininnik iluunnañinnik takuvugut "We saw all their possessions." (II, 2)
- illumunik iluunnañanik takuvuk "He sees his whole house." (II, 2)
- ukua allait numutausimajut "These books are not available." (III, 4)
- allaganik umina piutsavuna "I like this book of mine." (III, 4)
- taatsuma tasiup imana salumaittuk "The water of this lake is polluted." (III, 4)
- inunnit ikikkunannat aullavugut "We went away from those people." (III, 4).

Pronominal adverbs are excluded from this relationship. The most frequently occurring pronouns here are the demonstrative pronouns. Extended personal pronouns are also used, but mostly the 3. person forms of them. The dual form tamaagik is possible, but not probable in a sentence like inniigik tamaagik suunujuuk "His two sons are both strong." because the form inniigik expresses duality sufficiently. The 1. and 2. person pronouns occur in apposition with personal pronouns only, though again it is unusual to say uvana kisima takuvamma because kisima takuvamma "You see only me." is sufficient. namminik can occur with personal pronouns, demonstratives or nouns. Indefinite pronouns are excluded from AN relationship. So are interrogatives kina and sunu. nallia and related forms do not normally occur in this relationship either. E.g. a sentence like allamik nallianik pigumaviin? "Which book do you want?" (lit. "that which is a book--which one of them--do you want?") is apparently possible, but not likely because to use nallia presupposes that the group it refers to is known and therefore the noun allamik becomes superfluous. If "which/what kind" is implied by the question the word ganuittuk is used, e.g. allamik ganuittumik pigumaviin? "What kind of book do you want?"

When pronouns are in apposition to each other they agree in person, but this agreement is not required when two possessed elements are in apposition, i.e. only one will be marked for possession, as in illunani qaguttami "in his white house", where the first term has a 3. sg. possessive suffix, the second does not.

The order of the terms in apposition is completely free. E.g. ukua allait numutausimajut/allait ukua numutausimajut "These books are

not available." (According to our informants all six permutations of this three-word sentence are identical in basic meaning).

In the case of iluunnak pronouns in the 3. person the appositional structure is often replaced by a DN structure, whereby the iluunnak pronoun is the head term and a noun or another pronoun the term in the rel. case.

E.g.	AN <u>tasik iluunnani/iluunnana</u>	} "the whole lake/ the whole of the lake"
	DN <u>tasiup iluunnana</u>	
	AN <u>nunamut iluunnananut</u>	} "to the whole land/ to the whole of the land"
	DN <u>nunaup iluunnananut</u>	
	AN <u>taakkunannat iluunnanninit</u>	} "from all those/ from all of those"
	DN <u>taakkua iluunnannimit</u>	

These expressions are apparently quite synonymous.

The word tamaat was claimed to have pronominal meaning in EEL in exceptional cases such as omamut tamanut "wholeheartedly" (lit. "by all heart") (Bourquin 1891: 75). In MEL it only has an adverbial meaning "each time". An expression ullut tamaat though translated as "every day" cannot be regarded as an example of appositional relationship, for ullut is abs. pl., tamaat an uninflected word synchronically (diachronically 3. rel. sg.). ullut tamaat means literally "on days each time".

- QN puijinik kisiani takuvuna "I see only seals." (II, 2)
 uvattinut kisiani qaijut "To us only they come." (II, 2)
 kinainna uumina illuliin? "Whose house is this?" (lit. "who is that--with this--provided with a house?") (III, 4)?

The crop of examples of QN relationship is very meagre as could

be expected in view of what was said of this relationship in the introductory part to this chapter. It is debatable whether kisiani, which literally means "in its onliness", can be regarded as an adverbial adjunct to a noun/pronoun or simply a sentence adverb. Even in the third example uumiṇa qualifies a noun formed with the derivational suffix -lik, which has a verb-like meaning "provided with".

2. Demonstratives in an Enclitic Position

Three demonstratives, una, inna and manṇa have been attested in an enclitic position after the interrogatives kina and sunā in verbless questions of the type "Who is this?", "What is this?", "Whose possession is this?" They have also been attested in corresponding elliptical answers, where they are attached to a noun or a pronoun.

Examples.

(1) kinaunaa? "Who is this?" Saamiuna "This (is) Sam."; (2) kiamuna illunaa? "Whose house (is) this?" Saamiununa "This (is) Sam's (house)."; (3) kiamukua qimminin? "Whose dogs (are) these?" uṇṇaukua "These (are) mine."; (4) kinainna uumiṇa illulin? "Whose house is this?" (lit. who that--with this--provided with a house?) Saamiinna "Sam's." (lit. "Sam that"); (5) sunāunaa? "What (is) this?" titigutihuna "This (is) a pen."; (6) sunanukuaa? "What (are) these?" puusinukua "These (are) cats."; (7) sunamannaa? "What (is) this?" (referring for instance to liquid spilled on the floor) utsualumanna "This (is) kerosene."

All the above questions can have another kind of elliptical form without enclisis by permuting the order of the elements. E.g. (2) kiap illuna unaa? or una kiap illunaa?; (5) una sunaa?; (6) ukua sunaan?

In connected speech word final stops are frequently deleted utterance medially,³ but in enclisis they are converted to corresponding nasals before a vowel, e.g. kiap+ukua > kiamukua, sunat+ukua > sunanukua, titigutik+una > titigutinuna. Before a consonant the final stop drops, e.g. utsualuk+manna > utsualumanna.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹In EL, participles, both transitive and intransitive, are frequently used with finite force.

²Likewise, only tentative statements can be made about the status of the various constructions in the present day EL. It is our strong impression that the STV and OTV syntagmas are but little used in modern colloquial speech. It is conceivable, however, that in a corpus consisting of Eskimo legends and folk tales, for instance, these constructions would be quite natural. See also Appendix, p. 95.

³Our two informants differed in this. One deleted word final stops always utterance medially, the other only before consonants.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

We have aimed at elucidating the pronominal system of Eastern Labrador Eskimo by describing it as it is today and by comparing the modern usage with that of earlier times. Because of the duality of approach our conclusions are also of two kinds: firstly, concerning the amount of change and secondly, concerning the EL pronominal system in general.

Change. A large part of the change in the forms of pronouns is due to change in the phonological structure of EL in general. These changes are not exclusive to pronouns, but affect the whole language. Assimilation and Schneider's Rule have been found to be the most consequential causes of change. Their effects have been observed in every morphological category of pronouns except in the interrogatives of Chapter IV. Far fewer changes are attributable to the reshaping of the canonical form, whereby /k/ has become an almost universal ending of nouns or, more generally, of stems.

Another kind of change, also affecting the form, is a change in the marking of grammatical categories, i.e. number, person and case. The changes in the marking system are partly exclusive to pronouns, partly belonging to the whole word class of nominals.

Most changes in the marking system are to be found among the pronouns with personal suffixes. The more salient changes are the clear-cut differentiation between the abs. and the rel. cases in the 3.

person pronouns of the stems iluunnak and tamak, the loss of reference to any particular number and person by the reflexive pronouns, and the change in the way of marking the number of the possessor-referee and possessum-referent by pronouns nallia, nallinit, ilana, ilanit and asia, asinit. The most radically innovative feature of noun morphology, marking the 1. person possessor with suffixes -ga and -kka throughout the paradigm (except in the rel.) has not generally extended to the pronouns. It is found only in asiga and its inflected forms.

The innovative forms which occur as alternants to the traditional forms in demonstrative inflection have this in common: they have nominal case endings replacing the special demonstrative endings.

Amongst the interrogatives the most striking innovation is the occurrence of the rel. sg. ending -up also in the rel. pl.

As far as meaning is concerned there is very little change. Interrogative pronouns, not only kina and sunu, but also nallia and related forms have become established as pure interrogatives in MEL. Only through affixation can they acquire generalizing or negative meaning. Demonstratives are the most expressive of all pronouns as regards notional meaning. Some change has happened in denoting the four points of compass. Four demonstratives have fallen into disuse altogether.

It is very difficult to say anything general about syntactic changes among the pronouns, for Bourquin did not give a systematic syntactic description of the pronouns and the corpus of EEL material is too small for us to be sure of all the syntactic relations which pronouns may have had in EEL. In one case, however, we can be sure of

change, but it is a change which began already in EEL. That is the undifferentiated use of the forms kisimi, kisimik, iluunnani/iluunnana and iluunnatik/iluunnanit for both the actor and the non-actor while earlier the forms with the reflexive 3. person suffixes only were used for the actor and those with the non-reflexive 3. person suffixes for the non-actor.

Role of Pronouns in EL. It appears that pronouns with personal suffixes are not used very extensively. When we were eliciting examples of these pronouns our informants would very often come forth with a completely different structure where these pronouns had no place. E.g.

"I see only seals" is puijit kisimik takuvakka with a pronoun, but puijituinnanik takuvuna or puijit takujatuagivakka would often be offered first. In the latter two expressions the notion "only" is expressed with affixes -tuinnak and -tuak. The comment usually was:

"Why use so many words when there are easier ways of saying it?"

"Easier ways" obviously meant ways more natural to the structure of Eskimo language. Likewise our question "Did you talk to yourself?" would not contain a reflexive in MEL, but would be asked "Whom did you talk to?" "Do you ever talk to yourself?" would become "Do you talk when you are alone?" We could cite more examples of different ways of formalizing ideation in Eskimo and in an Indo-European language such as English. Our impression is that pronouns with personal suffixes belong to a rather peripheral sphere of Eskimo vocabulary. This, however, remains only an impression until a further study can be made based on a larger corpus of natural conversation or indigenous literature.

Demonstratives, on the other hand, belong to the central core of Eskimo language. They are more than mere function words being far more strongly identifying than demonstrative pronouns in, for instance, Indo-European languages. A question has often been asked why such an elaborate system of demonstratives evolved in Eskimo. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that in an arctic environment where landmarks are few and far between, especially in winter, a system of localizing which relies completely on relative spatial concepts was the most applicable one in all circumstances.

Interrogatives kina, sunu and nani are true function words. As such they have a vital role to play in Eskimo expression system.

APPENDIX

There are eight cases in Eskimo. They are called by a great variety of names. Those which are used in the preceding thesis are listed below on the left with their abbreviations. Other names to be found in the literature are on the right, but the list does not make any claim of being exhaustive.

absolute = abs.	intransitive, objective
relative = rel.	transitive, subjective
modalis = mod.	instrumental, accusative, sociative
localis = loc.	locative
ablative = abl.	distantialis
terminalis = term.	terminative, allative
vialis = vial.	perlative, prosecutive
aequalis = aeq.	equative, simulative, conformative, apposition

The terms "intransitive" for absolute and "transitive" for relative refer to the use of these cases as subject to intransitive and transitive verbs. Kleinschmidt and some others after him called the absolute case objective, i.e. object of a transitive verb, and the relative case subjective, i.e. subject of a transitive verb. These two cases together are referred to as syntactic cases as opposed to the adverbial cases, which comprise all the others. The division is handy, but it has to be remembered that even adverbial cases have their syntactical relations and that absolute can occasionally have an

adverbial usage.

The modalis has the role of an object in the intransitive construction, at least from an Indo-European point of view. The modalis also expresses an instrument, a manner in which something is done or what something is equipped with. The various names reflect all these functions. It seems that modalis is acquiring a status of a syntactic case with the ascendancy of the intransitive construction at the expense of the transitive construction, which is observable in MEL and reported from elsewhere (Hansen 1968: 14):

The next four cases are called the local cases since their basic function is the expression of local relations. They are, briefly stated with English prepositions: localis "in", ablative "from", terminalis "to", vialis "through".

Aequalis expresses likeness to something.

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